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Co-operation, doubts at Versailles summit

Western economic summits have tended to agree on what is wrong with the world but differ on what to do about it.

It remains to be seen whether the eighth annual summit meeting in Versailles is any different.

The heads of state and government of the seven leading Western industrialised states were clearly keen on rapprochement and cooperation, but there were just as many signs that despite the common ground, there were basic differences.

This even applies to the undertaking given along much the same lines as their 1975 Rambouillet pledge to avoid particularly erratic exchange-rate fluctuations.

This time the seven leaders agreed to define more clearly and abide by the provisions of the International Monetary Fund on monitoring economic and exchange-rate policies.

They resolved to set up a working party to draft criteria for central bank intervention in foreign exchange markets, but views promptly differed on what this might entail.

Under President Reagan the United States has abandoned as a matter of principle intervention in exchange markets. To the chagrin of its partners America has given the dollar a free rein.

At Versailles the US President said only that America was prepared to look into the idea of criteria for intervention.

The French, who have always favoured fixed exchange rates, presented the agreement as little short of a new international monetary system.

We shall see by September whether the seven have, as intended, arrived at a common definition in time for the next annual gathering of the IMF.

The proposals made by President Mitterrand on how to deal with new developments in technology were a textbook example of differences of viewpoint on economic policy concepts.

The French leader's views on how to ensure employment, growth and social safeguards reaffirmed the belief held by French politicians in the feasibility of exactly controlling and forecasting economic processes.

Out of courtesy towards their host the others were fulsome in their praise of the French proposals, but both Chancellor Schmidt and President Reagan left no doubt that there were clear limits to the specific moves that could be made.

Pointers to rapprochement were provided on two other topics dealt with at Versailles: free trade and the North-South talks.

There was a general commitment to free trade and much praise for the latest liberalisation moves by Japan, but the danger of protectionism has by no means been dispelled.

In the North-South dialogue the global negotiations envisaged by the Third World will doubtless be held, but the United States has yet to show for sure whether it will go back on its refusal to finance international institutions on behalf of the poorest countries. This leaves the last and, in the long term, most important point at issue, East-

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Problems of the world on their shoulders ... President Reagan, President Mitterrand and Chancellor Schmidt at Versailles. (Photo: Sven Simon)

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War shadows hang over economic talks

The Western economic summit in Versailles, held in the palace of Louis XIV, the Sun King, did not end on a note of splendour.

The talks were overshadowed on their second day by the news of fresh fighting in the Lebanon, just as they had been overshadowed by the Falklands crisis.

No-one at Versailles had expected a renewed flare-up in the Middle East, which was dealt with only briefly at dinner on the Saturday evening.

The leaders of the seven richest nations in the world reviewed the situation in the Middle East without much enthusiasm.

They had grown accustomed to disappointments since the utter failure of peace bids made after the Venice EEC summit two years ago.

The shooting of the Israeli ambassador in London and Israel's massive retaliation in the Lebanon have brought the situation to a head again with a vengeance, and it could escalate fast.

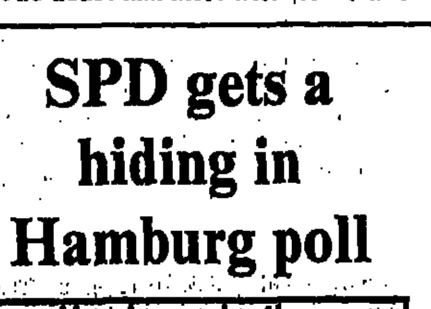
It was just as well that President Reagan was in Versailles, otherwise his European allies might well have issued a declaration of their own again.

In the past all such moves by Europe have upset both the Israeli and the US governments.

Regardless how fighting progresses in the Middle East, all seven leading Western industrialised countries realise that their summit plans for economic recovery will stand little chance of success if a new war is waged on their doorstep.

So their concern for peace in the Middle East is both genuine and justified.

Helmut J. Weland
(Rheinische Post, 7 June 1982)



SPD gets a hiding in Hamburg poll

...Social Democrats have been badly ...led in the Hamburg elections. Their ...re of the vote in what is an SPD ...nghold dropped from 51.5 per cent ...982 to 42.8. The CDU share rose ... 37.6 per cent to 43.2 while the ...n Alternative Liste won 7.7 per ... to get representation for the first ... The Free Democrats again failed ...t the mandatory 5 per cent of the ... and will again not be representa... The CDU now has 56 seats (51 last ...), the SPD 55(69) and the Greens 9, ...here is little prospect of a coali...

...e Social Democrats have taken ...eir worst drubbing for years.

...the national level the SPD has ...having problems since the last ge...election in October 1980, and it is ...ing to show in state polls.

...defeat as disastrous as in Ham... which used to be an SPD strong... sure to have repercussions both ...onal level and in Hesse, the next ... that goes to the polls.

...ably almost as important as the ...decline, the Free Democrats again ...d to poll five per cent and win back representation in the city council.

In Lower Saxony, where they succeeded in making a comeback, they did so by clearly saying they favoured a coalition with the CDU.

In Hamburg they failed because they were unable to decide in favour of the Christian Democrats. They backed the wrong horse and came a cropper.

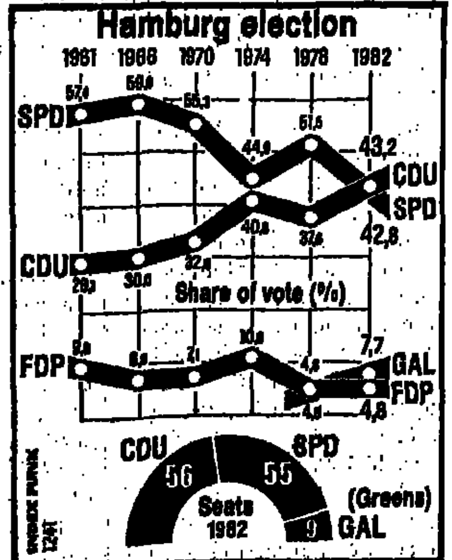
The Christian Democrats' spectacular gains confirmed a consistent trend since the last general election toward change, while the environmentalists success proved, if further proof were needed, that none of the established parties have gained the allegiance of young voters.

The environmentalists may be an emerging force but they are not a political party in the sense that the SPD, the CDU or the FDP are.

If the politicians are as good as their pre-poll word, Hamburg will for the time being continued to be governed by the old SPD Senate.

But with no party commanding a majority and no coalition in sight, another election in the autumn seems the only solution.

Helge Ehler
(Bremer Nachrichten, 7 June 1982)



■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Economics: that's why arms talks are on again

Frankfurter Rundschau

The superpowers are showing increasing signs of abandoning unbending views and seriously getting together to discuss arms control and disarmament.

President Reagan has confirmed 29 June as the date on which strategic arms talks are to begin. The Soviet Union has agreed to this deadline.

American and Soviet delegations have for seven months been discussing intermediate-range nuclear forces in Geneva; they will shortly be joined by delegations briefed to discuss intercontinental missiles.

So world affairs are on the move again, and one could speculate at length on who has started the ball rolling again and what motives lie behind the resumption of talks.

A key factor on both sides is clearly the realisation that a further turn of the arms race screw would virtually exhaust the economic potential of all concerned.

Both Washington and Moscow seem also to have arrived at the conclusion that any further increase in the potential for nuclear destruction could get out of hand und make a devastating war more conceivable.

Supporters of the peace movement in *Europe and the United States will probably have been taken* by surprise at this sudden change of heart and view it with suspicion to begin with.

Over the past 16 months both sides have said too much that was irreconcilable for the mere beginning of talks to eliminate mistrust and anxiety.

Even so, the peace movement would do well to study the reasons put forward by Mr Reagan for his latest burst of activity.

Strength and courage, he said, were not all that was required. Understanding and wisdom were also needed, just as understanding was called for from a potential adversary too.

That was something new, coming from the White House, and many factors contributed toward this relatively swift change of heart.

The peace movement can claim to have alarmed and made more sensitive to the imminent threat a wider public in various countries. This claim can hardly be disputed.

In Washington President Reagan and a majority of his administration are also felt to have taken the continual urging by Europe in general and Bonn in particular very seriously and to have reached appropriate conclusions.

This is the context in which the President's proposal for the superpowers to reduce by an initial third the number of nuclear watheads they have stockpiled must be seen.

It would be irresponsible to dismiss as superficial tactics America's readiness to hold serious negotiations, although there are doubtless people in America, as in Russia, who would sooner continue to aim at confrontation.

But their influence has declined perceptibly, and this is a point peace demonstrators in connection with the Nato summit in Bonn would do well to bear in mind.

There is growing anxiety in the United States, as elsewhere, that Nato's strategy has been overtaken by the passage of time and developments in weapons technology.

US politicians and military men are increasingly alarmed at the idea of having to be the first to resort to nuclear weapons in the event of an overwhelming conventional attack.

The Bonn Nato summit could be the first sign of the superpowers negotiating a higher nuclear threshold.

This would presuppose the West paying much more serious attention than it has done to striking a balance in conventional defence capacity.

American experts who are working on this idea are on their own neither in Congress nor in the Reagan administration, and they are not calling for parity in manpower, tanks and aircraft.

They feel the conventional balance could be restored by stepping up the use of modern weapons technology in non-nuclear armament.

There are those who might find it harder to keep the peace once the two sides need no longer fear total mutual destruction, but a conventional war would also have devastating repercussions.

Werner Holzer
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 2 June 1982)



Spain comes into Nato: filling a cultural, strategic gap

Spain has become a full-fledged member of Nato. Common cultural heritage and democratic aims make Spain a natural partner in the Atlantic Alliance now that the Franco regime has gone. The enlargement of Nato is also of paramount strategic importance.

A look at the map shows that now that the gap between Portugal and France has been closed, Nato has a continuous defence front extending from Europe's far north to Gibraltar.

But the accession of Spain also gives the alliance certain problems.

Though Spain can contribute armed forces with a strength of 324,000 men, most of this force is equipped with obsolete equipment.

In addition, there is the dispute with Britain over Gibraltar; and Spain's demand that its North African exclaves Ceuta and Melilla be included under Nato's protective shield clashes with Alliance principles.

A further irritant lies in the fact that the leftist opposition in Spain, headed

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Genscher goes to mend Israeli fences

Relations between Bonn Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and Israeli Premier Menachem Begin are disastrous, as even cautious Bonn diplomats are bound to admit.

But Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir prepared for the visit to Jerusalem by Hans-Dietrich Genscher, his Bonn counterpart, by virtually claiming nothing could be better.

In day-to-day practice, he said, relations between Bonn and Jerusalem were normal. They might even by better than they had used to be.

Mr Shamir shares his Prime Minister's liking for plain speaking but, unlike either Mr Begin or Herr Schmidt, is capable of drawing a clear distinction between personalities and world affairs.

He is well aware that relations between the two states amount to more than ties between their political leaders.

Helmut Schmidt has been Bonn Chancellor for eight years, and that's how long he hasn't been in Israel. But last year alone over 160,000 ordinary Germans visited the country.

They included 159,000 German holidaymakers attracted by Israel's sun, civilisation and history, and their numbers were 11 per cent up on the previous year.

There would probably have been even more German tourists if Mr Begin's spring 1981 war of words on Herr Schmidt had not put off many a would-be German visitor.

But this damper on travel is past history, and youth and sports exchange schemes play an important part in ties between the two states.

They currently cater for 6,000 Germans and 2,000 Israelis, and after initial restraint on Israel's part German diplomats in Tel Aviv increasingly feel there is now a two-way traffic.

This is certainly the case if the difference in size is taken into account. There are 60 million Germans and only about three million Israelis.

Twinning arrangements between German and Israeli towns are increasingly important. There are now 43 pairs of local authority twins.

German officials are particularly pleased to be able to note that these ties do not just exist on paper.

Cultural exchange has likewise increased after initial Israeli restraint, although German culture is not accepted in entirety in Israel yet, as disputes over Wagner showed recently.

German cultural accomplishments are nonetheless acknowledged. The Cologne Opera House's guest performance of Alban Berg's Wozzeck was hailed as the cultural event of the year.

Scientific cooperation has likewise increased. Sixty Israeli scholarship-holders are studying at German universities, 20 German scholarship-holders at Israeli universities and 100 students are getting grants of other kinds.

There are 70 joint research projects, in which it is mainly the Germans who are learning from the Israelis, especially in subjects such as irrigation.

Four chairs of German have been set up at Jerusalem University and there is already a department of German history at Tel Aviv University.

At the Bonn Foreign Office all these points are seen as testifying to the intensity of ties also characterised by close economic cooperation.

Israel exports goods worth DM1.1bn a year to the Federal Republic of Germany and imports DM1.7bn worth of goods made in Germany.

This groundwork of German-Israeli ties is badly needed at present, given that political ties cannot take greater strain in view of EEC policy on the Middle East, which Bonn fully endorses.

After Israel's withdrawal from the Sinai peninsula in accordance with the Camp David agreement Europe seemed prepared to wait and see.

This was partly because the Arab states were more concerned with the Iranian successes in the war with Iraq than with their arch-enemy Israel.

So Chancellor Schmidt's continued refusal to visit Israel is unlikely to make too much difference. As long as Helmut Schmidt and Menachem Begin hold their reins of power in their respective countries, ties will just have to concentrate on other channels.

Heinz-Peter Finke
(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 2 June 1982)

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Leading conservative politicians are limiting themselves to the occasional timid statement about the chancellorship candidate for 1984.

They aren't saying any more because they don't want to make any mistakes. No false step, seems to be the watchword.

They want nothing to mar the picture of unity in the Opposition ranks. That means maintaining the sharp contrast with the disunity of the governing coalition.

So it is not surprising that when Ernst Albrecht and Gerhard Stoltenberg, Prime Ministers respectively of Lower Saxony and Schleswig-Holstein, put their feet out slightly more firmly, they were accused of stepping out of line.

Why they spoke out is understandable: they know that the chancellorship candidate for this legislative period, Helmut Kohl, also seeks the 1984 nomination.

Few in Bonn doubt that Kohl will still be the candidate in 1984. He will be the uncontested candidate if there is an election before then. This will only change if something goes drastically wrong.

Even Albrecht's impressive election victory in Lower Saxony will not make much difference; neither, probably, will a similar success by Stoltenberg in Schleswig-Holstein.

Conservative prime ministers — especially in the south— consider it only logical for the present chancellorship candidate to be given priority for 1984.

Even Albrecht, who has said that he would be available, must realise this.

It is therefore not surprising that Kohl appears unperturbed. His shop, the CDU and its parliamentary group, is in fine shape and presents a picture of streamlined unity. This shows that he has the ability to integrate mixed with a fair pinch of good fortune.

Essentially, the party and its parliamentary group find it hard to understand why the ailing government has not already been given the coup de grace — especially in view of the fact that the switchover is an almost accomplished fact due to the CDU strength in the Bundesrat via the *Länder*.

But the CDU is trying to dampen the impatience. Opinion surveys and successes in state elections have raised unbridled hopes. There is the fact that none of the strategies to regain power that have been tried since 1969 have worked.

This applies to attempts to make the FDP switch partners, to the emphasis on the moral claim to power after the near-victory of 1976 and — even more so — to the confrontation strategy with the candidate Franz Josef Strauss in 1980.

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by Felipe Gonzales, opposes his country's membership in the Alliance and is considering reversing this through a referendum should his party win the next election.

Gonzales evidently fears that Spain's membership in a military alliance would strengthen the Francoist elements in the armed forces — the same that tried to overthrow the young democracy not too long ago.

It is, however, more likely that the opposite will happen because Nato is democratically controlled.

Spain's accession to Nato will therefore prove a gain for that country and the Alliance as a whole.

Bodo Schulte
(Nordwest Zeitung, 1 June 1982)

■ HOME AFFAIRS

Conservatives play it cool in interests of unity

Wielding the stick of premature elections (which in any event is purely academic unless the coalition breaks up) is no more than an accompaniment to the certainty among conservative ranks that the weakness of the coalition will lead to success — if not during this legislative period then in the 1984 election.

The talk about new elections also serves the purpose of mollifying those who are getting too impatient. One of the welcome side effects here is that it also exerts pressure on the Free Democrats who, according to latest opinion surveys, are being pulled down in the vortex of their Social Democratic partners.

For the rest, the mood is predominantly one of equanimity even towards the FDP — an equanimity that conspicuously coincides with a similar mood among parts of the SPD.

There, too, the search for common ground with the FDP having given way to a new devil-may-care feeling in the knowledge that the Social-Liberal days are numbered anyway.

Like the CDU/CSU, the Social Democrats view the FDP as a diminishing political asset — especially since the tactics of the Liberals are such as to puzzle everybody.

Kohl and other CDU leaders see the odds of the Liberals changing partners as fifty-fifty.

The deadline for such a change of partners is not necessarily the Hesse election in the autumn, which would still fall in this legislative period. It could well extend to the spring elections in Rhineland-Palatinate and Schleswig-Holstein. But as one person in Kohl's inner circle puts it: "Genscher is constantly en route; but he never arrives."

But the maxim of the diminishing value of the FDP applies only conditionally. Helmut Kohl would prefer to govern with the liberals rather than through an absolute majority that could in many ways make him vulnerable and perhaps even subject to blackmail — especially if he had to govern with a very narrow majority.

The conservatives still consist of two affiliated parties and the formerly strained relations between the CDU and the CSU have been smoothed out (which applies both to the parties and to their parliamentary groups).

The common ground that was established with Franz Josef Strauss in 1980 is still effective. In addition, the opposition role in which the two parties are joined acts as a reliable binding agent.

This need not (and probably will not) apply once an absolute victory releases the pent-up wishes that have accumulated during the many years in opposition. And these wishes would not only come from the parliamentary groups and the two affiliated parties but also from the states and municipalities, an ever-increasing number of which are governed by the conservatives.

When this happens, Kurt Biedenkopf will probably be proved right. It was he who stressed that the conservatives had omitted to discuss and agree on specific issues and that the problems that would confront a pure CDU/CSU government would essentially be the same as those



Helmut Kohl, the CDU party leader, greets pro-Western alliance demonstrators in Bonn on the eve of President Reagan's visit to Germany.
(Photo: Sven Simon)

that have been plaguing the Social-Liberal coalition.

The euphoria over an absolute election victory will gloss over this for a while, but not for long — even should Kohl and his cabinet use that opportunity to implement their more unpleasant policy moves in the very beginning.

The question is: How will relations between the CDU and CSU and between the Social Affairs Committees and the Economic Affairs Council develop in the long run? How many of the difficulties that have not yet been discussed will emerge to hamper a pragmatic conservative policy.

In these circumstances, it can only be useful to be able to point to a liberal coalition partner who has to be treated with kid gloves — very much as Helmut Schmidt has been doing all along.

The Liberals would continue to exercise their classical function as a corrective party; and there would thus be a change of role for only one party.

But all this is purely hypothetical before the electorate has spoken. And here the vote-catching potential of the Greens makes any prediction uncertain and strategies become mere sandbox exercises.

The same applies to persons. The various lists will have to be based on two contingencies: a government formed by the CDU/CSU alone or one in coalition with the FDP.

Here, too, the backlog of pent-up ambitions that had to be bottled up during all those opposition years will play a major role— especially in view of the fact that the CDU/CSU is even more personality-oriented than the other parties. This explains the (for Bonn unusual) secrecy in which conservative leaders have shrouded their intentions in this respect.

It also explains their sensitivity towards anybody who lifts even the smallest corner of the veil surrounding their ideas on matters of personnel, as in the case of Ernst Albrecht.

Still, some major aspects are self-evident. For instance, there can be no doubt that, should there be a conservative-liberal coalition, the FDP would insist on its present portfolios. The only concession they might be prepared to make would be the agriculture ministry, which they could conceivably swop for another one.

Kohl and Genscher would equally adamant on having Strauss in the government, although views on the CSU leader's reactions in such a case differ.

But most insiders are certain that he will react like an old regimental horse, rushing to the troops at the sound of the bugle and abandoning his post as Bavaria's prime minister in favour of Bonn.

Friedrich Zimmermann, CSU floor leader in the Bundestag, has indicated his portfolio preference through his extensive talks with Defence Ministry officials and his avid reading of essays on security policy.

But behind this air of equanimity it is becoming increasingly more palpable that Kohl is certain that his waiting is coming to an end.

According to one of his close co-workers, Bonn telltales are beginning to show a shift in the wind: There is a growing number of civil servants trying to make it clear now that their hearts have always been with the conservatives.

This being so, the change must surely be at hand.

Carl-Christian Kaiser
(Die Zeit, 28 May 1982)

Versailles summit doubts

Continued from page 1

West trade, on which Europe and America have long been at loggerheads.

It may well be autumn before agreement is reached on a new arrangement for minimum export credit interest rates that requires the Soviet Union to pay more.

This was a point on which agreement was reached in principle at Versailles, but a consensus must be arrived at in the OECD before it can be put into practice.

The West is not exactly at odds on stricter checks on technology exports of military relevance or on greater consideration for security criteria in other sectors.

But no-one can yet say whether this alone will be enough to comply with America's desire for more stringent credit lines in East-West trade.

Versailles may have shown signs of an improvement in cooperation between the leading Western industrialised states.

But the signs are not yet enough to dispel misgivings that differing views on how to solve economic and political difficulties will continue to prevail.

Eberhard Wisdorff
(Handelsblatt, 7 June 1982)

■ LABOUR

Reactions vary towards rising unemployment



There are all sorts of cures for unemployment. Hardly anyone's agrees with anyone else's. There is only one agreed point: the number of jobless has not yet hit its peak.

After discussion on the Bonn job-creation programme, there are now signs of confusion and even defeatism among politicians. Everyone one is trying to blame everyone else.

There are thse who blame it all on high wage costs, excessive social security benefits and the welfare system as a whole.

Some blame the profit-orientation of industry and job-destroying rationalisation measures.

Individual technologies like microprocessors have been depicted as something fiendish, as if they had been invented for no other purpose than to destroy thousands of jobs.

It is typical of the intellectual standard of these discussions that leading union officials refer to joblessness as a scandal, as if someone had created it.

Others resort to generalisations, blaming the "world-wide recession".

This also serves as an easy explanation for the ineffectiveness of economic policy.

Foreign workers are also increasingly *getting blamed. So are the jobless themselves; many could easily find work if* they wanted to, cry the critics.

Threats have become instruments and fear an object of speculation. One line of argument is that if growth and technical progress prove impossible we shall just have to put up with the fact that "the lights will dim and go out." Others point to the Great Depression of the 1930s.

There is a startling contrast between the frenzy of some politicians and the equanimity of the public.

Despite rising unemployment figures, there has been no unrest — not even among the jobless themselves.

This might be due to social security or perhaps to the fact that those who have a job are unaffected and have no feeling of solidarity with the less fortunate.

It is also possible that the public has become accustomed to the poor economy and no longer bothers making a noise about it.

The number of people who expect nothing from the state could be growing.

Sociologist Ralf Dahrendorf pointed to this fact at a meeting of the *Deutscher Kommunikationstag* when he said: The public no longer believes that the day will come when "some fabulous people will take over the reins of power."

What has happened, he said, was that the people have come to terms with their new situation.

Increased moonlighting was clear proof of this. More and more people are trying to get round existing regulations and organise their work as they see fit.

These are roughly also the findings arrived at by Burkhard Strümpel and Michael von Klipstein of Berlin's Free University in a study entitled *Arbeitspolitik und Öffentlichkeit* (Labour Policy and the Public).

The findings have now been put up for discussion by works council members, trade unionists and alternative politicians at Berlin's Aspen Institute.

The project, which is part of an international survey on "Jobs in the 1980s," has been financed by the Volkswagen Foundation. It deals with the economic views of the man-in-the-street and the social elite.

The objective is to provide fundamental orientation points on labour policy and economic and social strategies.

An opinion survey on these topics by the Allensbach Institute is to be released in the summer. Some 200 random interviews of Berlin adults have already been made.

Even if the results of the survey are not seen as absolutely representative, the outcome is startling.

Most of the respondents see economic growth only as a means to an end, i. e. the preservation of jobs.

Eighty per cent say that technological progress destroys jobs; 20 per cent blame unemployment on "excessive wage demands"; and 17 per cent blame it on "excessive state interference in market forces."

Unemployed — Who they are

Of every 100 jobless (in Sept 1981):

(Total exceeds 100 because some fall into more than one category)

Unable to change town	83
Unfinished career training	55
Health problems	26
Interested only in part-time work	17
Foreigners	14
Aged 55 and over	13
Aged under 20	11
Have never worked	8

Most of those questioned think little of the job-creation ideas of politicians. They reject more public sector spending, more welfare and the construction of major projects.

The "alternative politicians" in Berlin raised the question as to whether it makes sense in the long run to produce goods and services only to preserve jobs.

They also questioned whether work must still be subject to a rigid eight-hour rhythm.

The trade unions came under heavy attack for not discussing these issues and sticking to their demands for full employment while at the same time rejecting all more flexible forms of working hours.

There are times, the alternative politicians said, when it seems that the employers are more readily prepared than the trade unionists to agree to flexible working times.

Though the unionists at the meeting also showed some understanding for such ideas, they warned against these tempting moves. As they see it, more flexibility could mean less social security and that would result in the loss of rights that once had to be fought for.

When it comes to preserving what has been achieved, the trade unions are totally uncompromising, as was demonstrated in Berlin.

Their contention is that any change in the present system of working hours, such as more part-time work or job sharing, would weaken "strategic positions".

They might not be all that wrong after all. The influence of trade unions must diminish in a society in which many people have departed from the traditional working hours in favour of new arrangements.

Axel Schnorbus

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 1 June 1982)

Ill health forces union leader into retirement

Heinz Kluncker, 57, has resigned as chairman of the powerful public sector workers union (ÖTV) with 1.2 million members, for health reasons.

The German Trade Union Federation (DGB) thus loses one of its main pillars, a man of unimpeachable moral fibre.

His fortitude and uncompromising attitude was demonstrated when in connection with the *Neue Heimat* affair he said: "What matters is that you should be able to look yourself in the face in the mirror every morning."

Kluncker used this to explain why he rejected Alois Pfeiffer both as DGB chairman and as a member of the executive board.

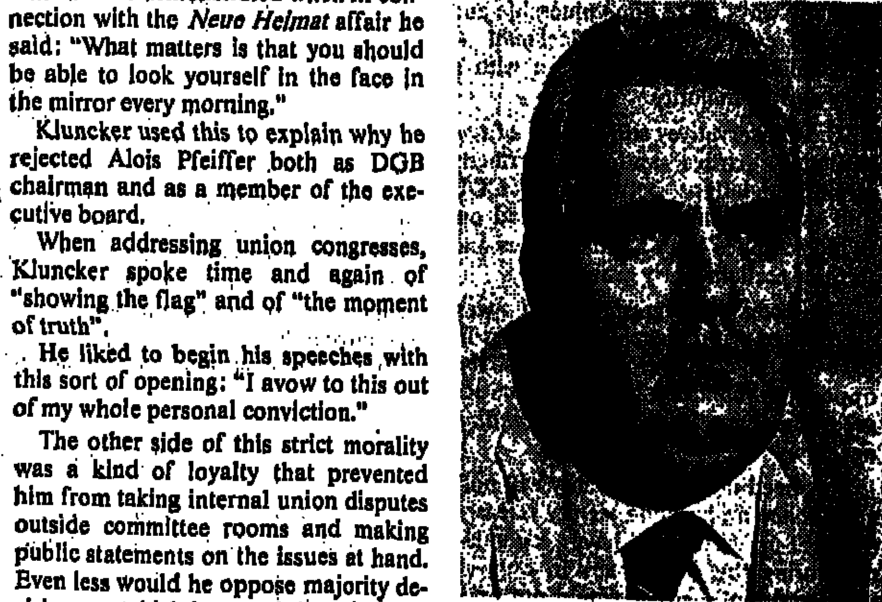
When addressing union congresses, Kluncker spoke time and again of "showing the flag" and of "the moment of truth".

He liked to begin his speeches with this sort of opening: "I avow to this out of my whole personal conviction."

The other side of this strict morality was a kind of loyalty that prevented him from taking internal union disputes outside committee rooms and making public statements on the issues at hand. Even less would he oppose majority decisions on which he was defeated.

Absolute moral integrity "among ourselves" was for him the essential precondition of credibility with the rank and file and of an effective union policy towards employers and the government.

Another outstanding trait was his loyalty to the state, of which he said "this state is our state." By the same token, he saw the trade unions as being in constant opposition to the ruling political groups because they were



Heinz Kluncker . . . a strict morality. (Photo: Sven Simon)

"fighting communities" whose aim was not "collective bargaining patchwork" but a "change in living conditions."

Kluncker had his first brush with the union movement while a POW in America.

The ex-chairman, who enjoys Hemingway, Steinbeck and Faulkner and who likes to listen to American jazz as much as to Bach, is also a passionate gardener and likes to build his own radios.

The son of an artisan and trained in business administration, Heinz Kluncker started off as SPD secretary in his home town, Wuppertal.

He attended the Hamburg Social Studies Academy together with Heinz Oskar Vetter, later to become DGB chairman.

During that time, he attended lectures by Karl Schiller (later Bonn economic affairs minister) whom he appreciated and described as a "neo-liberal with occasional social feelings."

As a young ÖTV secretary, he frequently asked the equally young Helmut Schmidt to hold weekend seminars. That was more than 33 years ago.

None of these personal ties stopped him from launching stiff direct or indirect attacks on Vetter when Vetter was DGB chairman. And even less did they stop him from condemning the "Concerted Action" introduced by Schiller. He never attended these meetings, which he described as "humbug".

He also categorically rejected so-called independent and yet partisan experts like the Advisory Council on Economic Affairs, known as the Five Wise Men.

He was sceptical towards the allegedly non-partisan but ultimately biased judiciary in connection with labour litigation. For him, the "legitimacy principle" had priority over the "principle of legality."

The clear line which the dyed-in-the-wool Social Democrat Kluncker drew

Continued on page 5

■ DEFENCE

Armed forces manpower shortage to be made up by signing 30,000 women

DIE ZEIT

Bonn Defence Minister Hans Apel, who faces a drastic decline in the number of young men reaching conscript age from the mid-80s, plans to sign on 30,000 women volunteers for the Bundeswehr.

Herr Apel recently confided to associates that he had another shell that looked like bursting in the barrel. It turned out to be an unfortunate turn of phrase.

It sounded as though he was about to say yet another weapons system was about to overshoot its cost estimates. But he wasn't.

He was referring to the recommendations of a commission of civilian and military experts on Bundeswehr manpower and equipment requirements between now and the turn of the century.

They were first put on the classified list, then leaked to Bonn journalists, who immediately broke the story.

By the mid-80s there will be a shortage of both recruits and long-service volunteers in the Bundeswehr. The commission begins by making recommendations that are not unduly controversial.

National service, it says, should be increased from 15 to 18 months. Fitness requirements should be reduced to make more youngsters eligible. Older recruits, such as those who study first, should be called up even if they are 27.

Then come the recommendations billed as a bombshell:

- Thirty thousand women are to be recruited to serve with the armed forces.
- Boy soldiers who sign on for between two and 15 years should be allowed to join from the age of sixteen.

Women and Children in the Bundeswehr was the inevitable headline, and since time is short a decision must be reached this year on what jobs women are to do in the Bundeswehr, with or without amendments to Article 12a of Basic Law.

This is the point at which the plan might backfire. Article 12a specifies that women may be required in wartime to work in civil and military hospitals (but not mobile field ambulances).

But, it categorically adds, they may on no account bear arms. So unless Basic Law were amended, women in peacetime could only volunteer for service and could not handle weapons in the Bundeswehr.

Considerations has been given in all three services, the Bundeswehr, the Luftwaffe and the Bundesmarine, to what jobs women could perform that did not involve bearing arms.

The answer is: not much, apart from hospital work, and women are already employed as officers in the medical corps.

Secretaries and switchboard operators are already women, civilians too, and there are no plans to hand over these jobs to service personnel.

Is there any such thing, in a modern army, as a soldier's job that can be said, other than by splitting hairs, not to entail bearing arms in one way or another?

Any attempt to define what constitutes a weapon is abound to sound hypocritical. Even in a conventional war these days guns would be of strictly limited importance.

Is a tank driver not an arms-bearer merely because he is not a gunner? Of course he isn't, and neither is the pilot of a bomber or a fighter aircraft.

He may not be able to put his finger on the trigger without the aid of his gunner, but navigators, engineers and control tower staff are, like pilots, part of an integrated war machine.

The commission may have considered amendments to the constitution in its efforts to plug the gap resulting from the effect of oral contraception on the birth-rate, but it cannot be accused of disloyalty to the constitution.

It has included a precaution found only in commentaries on Basic Law that would seem to make what it has in mind still more difficult in practice.

The proviso is that women must not only not bear arms but also not be exposed to direct enemy action. In other words, they could not be employed at air bases, Nato command centres, on warships or even at territorial army headquarters.

Bonn is now virtually on its own in ruling out, as a matter of principle, military service for women. All other Nato countries either already have women soldiers, sailors and airmen or will have them by the end of the year.

Their women soldiers are taught to handle arms too. Take, for instance, women members of the US armed forces, which have the largest proportion of women of all the world's armies.

In recent years they have taken their case for equal rights to court and gained access to 361 out of 377 jobs in the US armed forces.

They are entitled to fly military aircraft, although not combat aircraft, and to captain warships, again excepting combat vessels.

The main argument on which they based their legal battle to gain access to all-male military professions was the ban on sexual discrimination in the UN Charter.

This ban is referred to in the Bonn commission's report, but in 1956, when the Bundestag debated the Bundeswehr that had just been set up, it was a different tale altogether.

The Bundestag not only ruled out conscription of women but also banned them from military service of any kind, and all parties in the Bonn parliament agreed that this was a matter of principle that overrode any legal niceties.

Elisabeth Schwarzhaupt told the Bundestag on behalf of the committee that had drawn up military regulations that it was felt as a matter of principle that women, by virtue of their nature and role, must be prohibited from bearing arms.

No-one disagreed, and over 20 years later Lieselotte Funcke as deputy speaker of the Bundestag said: "Equal rights must not mean equal rights at any price. Woman's role is to give life, not to be obliged to take it."

There are good reasons for doubting whether this view would still be shared by a majority of those concerned, women aged 18 to 28.

There may be no precise figures, especially on readiness of women in the appropriate age group to do military service, but the commission's ideas and proposals are sure to start the ball rolling again.

Defence Minister Apel can rest assured he will get to hear this particular bombshell burst.

Hans Schueler

(Die Zeit, 21 May 1982)

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between the trade unions and politics was demonstrated by the fact that he rejected any link between trade union and party functions as he rejected parliamentary mandates for trade unionists.

Unlike IG Metall, the metalworkers union, he was strictly against making Franz Josef Strauss the bogeyman in election campaigns.

This would have run counter to his understanding of a trade union federation.

By the same token — again as opposed to IG Metall and the DGB — he ensured that there would be only few politicians attending ÖTV congresses; and then only on the opening day.

Wolf Gunter Brügmann

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 3 June 1982)

What makes a country worth defending

Ten recruits in Bundeswehr drab denims sit round the table in their quarters, a bare room lined with beds and metal wardrobes.

This time they are not cleaning up the quarters or polishing their rifles; they are being given a grounding in political education.

At the 10th Panzer Division in Sigmaringen the 10 men, with a junior officer as an instructor, have as their subject: why I feel the Federal Republic of Germany is worth defending.

Team work is considered most important as a feature of civics in the Bundeswehr. About two years ago the change was made from customary instruction in the full frontal style.

Confronted by their question, the recruits put their heads together and try to come up with a few answers.

Why defend the country? Because of the National Service Act, which is why they were called up as conscripts in the first place.

Any other ideas? Because we are duty bound to do so. Self-defence as part of the survival instinct.

One of the recruits, clearly a leader by virtue of his command of language, adds: "We have a high standard of living that is worth maintaining so as to ensure that we are not as bad off as the GDR or Poland."

Another suggests that the Federal Republic might be worth defending for its human rights.

Military Service, Civil Service, Peace Service is the topic of the course. The first is self-explanatory, the second is a reference to the welfare service option for conscientious objectors.

Some recruits are critical of the arms race. The instructor says one must be tolerant toward conscientious objectors. But the general tenor of the discussion is unmistakable.

Welfare service may be most important in the welfare context, the instructor says, but we soldiers are the ones who keep the peace by maintaining the balance of power.

A video cassette is screened to show how well worth defending the Federal Republic is. It shows idyllic green countryside in which cheerful people laugh and play.

The scene on the screen is reminiscent of the nature scenes in TV cigarette advertising. There are also a few shots of people on protest marches.

Yet great importance is attached to political education by the military authorities. "There are two reasons why soldiers must be politically informed," says Brigadier Enno Walter, second-in-command of the panzer division.

"First, even as a soldier he remains the citizen of a democratic country. Second, the soldier who knows what he is defending can do his job better."

In the 15 months of a conscript's military service political education courses take up a regulation 60 hours. In practice the daily routine can make arrangements more makeshift.

The men of a maintenance battalion complain that they have not had real lessons since basic training. It is usually just half an hour in the mess on Fridays and something or other in the company, although that tends to be skipped.

The company commander says he too has a job to do and the company has so many vehicles to maintain that little time is left for political education.

The recruits who show most interest and are most critical are those with university entrance qualifications.

"When the captain is instructor it's OK," they say, "but we have an old RSM who is not prepared to tolerate any opinion other than his own."

NCOs seem to be a weak link in the chain. They are often not well enough informed, and 10 Panzer Div plans to improve matters.

Political education seminars are held at one of the division's camps. The instructors are not Bundeswehr men, the atmosphere is relaxed and the emphasis is on training instructors.

Experience has shown that soldiers sent on courses are usually those who least need them: recruits with university entrance qualifications.

Despite efforts to narrow the gap, old-fashioned ideas persist. One private says the sergeant asked him: "You're a baccalaureate man, aren't you?"

When he said he was, he was detailed to attend a political education course. After a moment's reflection the sergeant said:

"Work hard but remember to behave yourself. It isn't a protest gathering, you know."

Arnd Bäucker

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 29 May 1982)

■ LAW OF THE SEA

Germany left with mere crumbs after the riches are divided up

The Federal Republic of Germany is one of the big losers of the United Nations Law of the Sea Conference in New York.

After eight years of talk, Germany has been allocated economic control over a section of the North Sea with is known to have no oil or gas deposits.

It has also managed to miss the boat entirely over the allocation of seabed mining rights.

The coastal states get the riches while the landlocked countries don't — in terms of economic control zones.

Ten of 150 countries share half the sea in question. West Germany is at the bottom of the list.

Bonn, in contrast to some other countries, demanded little and got even less when it came to the mining rights.

A badly arranged campaign left the German delegation in a weak position to take part in the extensive bargaining.

The endless debates and the reams of paper produced over the years did little to attract the interest of the German public.

One delegate's reaction after wading through it all for all those years, and then seeing where it had got Germany: "Pity about all those Canadian forests cut down to make the paper."

The jungle of draft resolutions, provisions, etc, amounted to more than mere rights of passage through straits or the 12-mile territorial rights.

"Conference on the Law of the Sea" was *the innocent and misleading name of an event that will entail enormous* economic consequences and

❛ Japan did well: it acted on the correct assumption that the more you demand, the more you get. ❜

bring about the biggest redistribution of the globe in human history.

"The wars of conquest, starting with Persia and extending to the last Czars of Russia, were nothing in terms of shifting power when compared with the Law of the Sea Conference," history textbooks in the year 2000 are likely to say once all the provisions laid down in the new Law of the Sea have been implemented.

As soon as the convention is ratified, the coastal states will be able to lay claim to about 40 per cent of the world's sea area as their exclusive economic zone. This equals the total land area of the globe. The "nationalised" zones will hold about 90 per cent of the world's fish stocks and almost all of the exploitable marine oil and gas reserves.

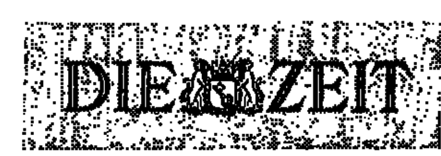
Under the convention, coastal states have exclusive rights within their 200 nautical mile economic zone to fish, drill for oil or gas and use tidal energy in power stations.

In cases where the sea is not deep, the economic zone extends to 350 nautical miles.

As demonstrated by the distribution of the North Sea oil, the coastal states get the riches while landlocked countries like Austria, Paraguay or Afghanistan don't.

To all intents and purposes, they may no longer make use of the sea unless they pay a licence fee for which no upper limit has been set.

Countries with short coasts, such as



the Federal Republic of Germany and the GDR, got next to nothing. West Germany was only given a small stretch of the North Sea — a stretch which is known to have no oil or gas deposits. It thus stands to gain about 41,000 square kilometres of sea, corresponding to 16 per cent of its land area.

France (including its overseas territories) gains about 11 million square kilometres of sea.

These enormous differences result from a seemingly absurd provision of the convention: every island — and even just a rock that is awash at high water is an island — can lay claim to a 200 nautical mile sea area around it in which it has exclusive economic rights.

Britain, with its overseas possessions, is also one of the big winners. The sea area around the Falkland Islands and the various rocks extending southward towards the Antarctic play an important role here.

The fighting in the area is certainly not over a few flocks of sheep but over a sea area the size of Europe with all its riches in and below the sea.

This area is still legally part of the what is known as the EEC Sea. And should Argentina come out of this conflict as the winner the whole of the South Atlantic would be lost to Britain.

This would naturally have its repercussions on the Federal Republic of Germany as an EEC member — provided the Community agrees on a common exploitation of the EEC Sea.

The United States is another of the big winners in the struggle for the 200-mile economic zone. Even without taking its overses possessions into account, it stands to gain 7.8 million square kilometres of sea.

The Soviet Union didn't do too badly either. It gains 4.5 million square kilometres.

The sea, which is the common heritage of mankind, as the conference maintained in the beginning, has thus been rather one-sidedly distributed among countries with a long coastline: ten out of 150 nations are to receive about half of all the economic zones for their exclusive use.

The Federal Republic of Germany is at the bottom for both an economic zone and in the distribution of seabed mining rights. This die was cast at the last round of the conference in April.

Yet, along with the USA, Britain and France, West Germany ranks among the few nations to have invested millions in seabed mining and put itself among the leaders in terms of technology.

All that remained for the last round of the conference was to provide this industry with adequate mining rights for the nodules on the seabed that contain such valuable metals as manganese, nickel, cobalt and copper. The nodules would have to be mined at a depth of about 5,000 metres.

This involves sophisticated technology which an expert of the German Workshop for Seabed Raw Materials (AMR) describes as follows: "To fish for manganese nodules is about as easy as harvesting potatoes from an aircraft equipped with a 5-kilometre long lever."

The cost is correspondingly high. One mining unit would cost about US$2.5bn. The unit would consist of two mining vessels and a floating smelting plant. Such a mining unit for manganese nodules could meet much of West Germany's rare metals requirements: 52 per cent of manganese and 17 per cent of nickel requirements.

Yet the Bonn government denied its deep-sea mining industry its assistance on the grounds that this would have been incompatible with our market economy.

Other countries used private syndicates as a basis on which to build up ocean mining enterprises. They have fared extremely well, as the outcome of the conference shows: eight syndicates were granted seabed mining rights. Each of them was allocated a field extending over a maximum of 150,000 square kilometres (about two-thirds of West Germany's land area).

There are four private and four state consortiums. Three of the private syndicates are American and the fourth is British (though here the state has a con- considerable equity).

The state-owned companies belong to France, Japan, the Soviet Union and India. Although the Japanese, Russians and Indians have made no major investments in seabed mining, they were each given one-eighth of total mining rights.

Japan did even better: it formed a state-owned corporation (on paper only) in addition to its two private syndicates. They acted on the correct assumption that the higher your demands the more you get.

Bonn opted for the opposite approach, demanding little and getting next to nothing.

Although Germany ranks among one of the four leading nations in deep-sea mining, it was given only about three per cent of the mining rights. This is its 25 per cent equity in one of the eight consortiums.

A purely German syndicate with state participation would have stood a chance of getting one-eighth or one-ninth of

❛ The absurd provisions mean that every rock that is awash can can lay claim to a 200-mile zone. ❜

the mining rights, as in the case of the French and Indian consortiums.

Wisely anticipating what would happen, Britain secured a majority stake in a consortium. German companies, on the other hand, considered themselves financially not strong enough to make a bid for mining rights without government support.

Like industry, the German delegation also received little support. Its government gave it inadequate backing so that it lacked clout in the tug-of-war over the seas of the world.

Coordination between the Bonn ministries involved was inadequate. The say did not rest with the Economic Affairs Ministry but with Foreign Office diplomats. And they were obviously unaware of the far-reaching economic implications of the decisions.

They must therefore bear some of the blame.

While other Western countries made a point of ensuring continuity and maximum expertise in their delegations, the West German delegation members kept changing.

There were five different heads of the delegation during the eight years of the conference.

Other countries sent top officials with a direct line to the head of government. Norway and France, for instance, sent a "Minister for Marine Interests" while Bonn made do with the second echelon of bureaucracy.

And even this second-rate delegation received no support from the Bundestag. Only a few German MPs (among them Grunenberg, von Geldern, and Kittelmann) are fairly familiar with the subject.

Bonn could have had allies against the long coastline states: since most of the losers are developing countries, Germany could easily have enlisted support from their ranks.

The outcome of the Law of the Sea Conference will have an impact on the fishing industry, shipping companies, shipbuilders and the makers of oil rigs.

❛ Bonn did badly: it didn't ask for much. And that is just about what it got. Next to nothing. ❜

Their ranks will now be joined by the deep-sea mining industry.

German shipowners and the Navy will probably find it easiest to accept the outcome of the marathon talks. But even so, there still remain legal uncertainties concerning passage through straits. Disputes that could easily develop into gunboat politics appear to be programmed.

The German fishing industry has grown used to headaches over the years: the Law of the Sea Conference gradually stripped it of one right after the other. The catches in 1980 were only half those of four years earlier; and today Germany's deep-sea fishermen operate only in foreign economic zones, such as off Canada, for which they have to pay heavy fees.

Unless our fishermen receive better access to fishing grounds, the industry will gradually fold and 20,000 jobs will be lost.

The German shipbuilding industry has so far managed to mitigate the effects of the shipbuilding slump by making oil rigs. But this is becoming increasingly difficult because coastal countries favour their own companies.

Anybody who rejects the idea of a common EEC Sea as adamantly as the British and who guards title to the oil in that sea as jealously as they do naturally also insists that the necessary equipment is made is local companies.

The German deep-sea mining industry has been made totally insecure. Even its technical advances are of little use when this technology has to be sold cheaply to the all-powerful Seabed Authority (still to be founded) which will be dominated by the threshold countries.

Schleswig-Holstein's Economic Affairs Minister Jürgen Westphal has stressed time and again that the effects on jobs and the securing of the necessary technology and raw materials could be disastrous.

But Bonn did not listen to him. If the Bonn government were now at least to try and salvage what can be salvaged it

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■ THE ECONOMY

Warning that another oil crisis hangs menacingly in the background

It would be a mistake to become overconfident about energy, warns Hans-Günther Sohl, former president of the Federation of German Industry (BDI) in this article. Herr Sohl is also a member of the International Councillors Meeting, part of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University, Washington.

The possibility of a third oil crisis seems remote today. The present oil glut has pushed the memory of the 1979 crisis into the distance.

Since then world energy consumption has dropped by 180 million tons of oil units a year and actual oil use is down by 250 million tons a year.

Opec's share of oil use has dropped from 49 per cent to 39 per cent.

But these figures can be misleading. Energy is being saved, but much of the saving, as much as half, is world-wide recession according to the International Energy Agency (IEA).

This would mean that if the economy world-wide recovered to its 1979 position, oil use would rise by about 130 million tons a year.

About 250 million tons a year have been removed from the world market because of the Iran-Iraq war. This means that if the world economy does grow as predicted, demand might again exceed supply, despite the fact that Opec can produce more.

The IEA thinks that another oil crisis will happen in the second half of the decade.

According to IEA estimates, without growth rates in the OECD countries would have been 5 per cent higher in 1980 and 8 per cent in 1981.

What this means is demonstrated by the rise in unemployment within the OECD countries from 19 to 28 million.

Three percentage points of the 1981 inflation rate in the OECD nations are because of oil prices.

These figures clearly show how a third oil crisis would be.

The fact is that we learned nothing from the first crisis, in 1973, and oil's energy share in the OECD countries showed no marked drop between 1973 and 1979. Oil consumption remained unchanged.

In fact, the United States during this period increased its crude imports from [illegible] million tons a year to 360 million tons. The Opec share of total oil imports rose from 48 to 66 per cent during the same period.

At the same time, the Americans reduced their own oil output by 37 million tons a year.

In 1979, the Carter Administration embarked on a long-term programme to promote oil substitutes. It was to have been subsidised by the Administration to the tune of US$88bn.

In the past few weeks, information has filtered through that major projects to obtain oil from shale, liquefaction projects in the USA and Canada and the planned opening up of new oil wells in the North Sea have been shelved because they appear unprofitable in the light of today's oil prices.

The original feasibility studies were based on the assumption that oil prices would rise to US$50 per bbl.

This means that we could well find one day that we have not learned anything from the second shock either.

The danger of a third crisis is made even more real by the political uncertainties in the Middle East.

The Israeli-Arab dispute is as virulent as ever; the solution of the Palestinian problem has moved into the distant future. In any event, the solution of this problem alone would not necessarily reduce tension.

To make matters worse, the population structure in the Gulf countries has become an additional source of danger.

A German industrial delegation was told by the sultan of Sharjah that he was worried about the rising number of foreign workers in the United Arab Emirates.

An additional source of concern was the fact that the day would come when the local population would only do administrative work and leave the foreigners to man the factories.

The risks of this are obvious.

President Reagan is correct in his view that the energy industry must be part of the market economy and that it must be governed by market forces.

The deregulation of oil prices in the United States, hopefully soon to be followed by deregulation of gas prices, was a step in that direction.

But energy policy is more than just national economic policy. In view of the industrial countries' dependence on oil, it is also foreign and defence policy. This means that it must become part of a global Western strategy requiring a legal framework and supporting measures such as taxation.

This was clearly recognised at the 1980 Venice Summit. The moves towards a common and coordinated energy policy made at the summit must not be allowed to lapse.

The United States has been assigned a leading role because it has so much energy of its own.

But Europe, too, must do all it can. France is making an exemplary contribution through its swift and determined development of nuclear energy.

Germans should also understand that energy policy is a major part of foreign and defence policy and that a greater contribution must be made towards making the West less dependent on imported oil and less liable to blackmail.

Energy plans extending to the year 2030 are of little use in this context. We must be prepared for all eventualities in the less distant future.

An energy programme that will take this into account would also be the best job-creation programme.

This applies in particular to the deficit in our development of nuclear energy, of which Bonn is fully aware.

Naturally, the energy problem could also be solved by a voluntary Morgenthau Plan. But Germans did not reconstruct post-war Germany to implement such a plan.

Hans-Günther Sohl

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 28 May 1982)

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[illegible] would first have to analyse the economic effects of the territorialisation of the seas on German raw materials supplies, exports, employment and security. Based on this analysis, a new political strategy would have to be drafted.

To this end, Bonn would have to coordinate its moves with the other losers of the convention. It would have to try to obtain exploitation rights in the "nationalised" coastal zones of the EEC partners.

And, finally, Bonn could also try to conclude cooperation agreements with the "nouveaux riches" among the developing countries, exchanging marine technology for mining rights.

Wolfgang W. Schöhl

(Die Zeit, 21 May 1982)

Difficulties 'cannot be blamed solely on US policies'

The author of this article is Count Otto Lambsdorff, Bonn Economic Affairs Minister.

As the Economic Summit in Versailles approaches, the Western industrial nations are faced with the need to coordinate their economic views and differing economic policies.

It is this that makes Versailles so important — not only for discussions of economic issues but also for the action that will have to follow in the individual countries.

The picture so far is not very convincing. In the United States, for instance, the burden of economic adjustment has been shifted almost entirely on to the Federal Reserve Bank.

Reagan's supply-side policy has resulted in a combination of high and still growing budgetary deficits and tight money after 14 months of his presidency.

The consequences are felt most painfully in the United States itself: extremely high interest rates. But while the impact is heaviest in America, the whole of the world economy has to suffer as a result of this adaptation process.

Japan pursues an aggressive export policy, a restrictive import policy and an active or tacitly condoned manipulation of the capital market. Naturally, this must lead to the danger of countermeasures by other countries.

Many European countries try to master the problems through subsidies, intervention and similar measures. Unfortunately, this paralyses the very economic forces that could help overcome stagnating growth and unemployment.

France is trying to solve the problems through deficit spending and shorter working hours. But this must lead to higher inflation rates and worsening budgetary and current account difficulties.

After years of doing nothing, Britain, on the other hand, was forced to undergo a drastic cure that has led to the worst recession among the industrial countries.

The Federal Republic of Germany has steered a middle-of-the-road course. Backed by responsible attitudes by the parties to collective bargaining as a major precondition, we opted for a pragmatic policy aimed primarily at an internal and external market economy adjustment, monetary stability and a fiscal policy of budget consolidation and improved framework conditions for private investment. We have fared well with this policy, as shown by a comparison of data with other countries.

Whenever I go abroad, I hear the unanimous view: "Things are shaping up again in your country — if only everybody else could catch up."

High American interest rates are a major concern for most countries. Some of the criticism levelled against the American interest-rate policy is certainly justified.

But a sustained reduction of interest on dollars in the United States would presuppose that America's fiscal policy steered a solid course once more and that inflation was kept down once the upswing came.

The deficit for fiscal 1982/83 (estimated at US$180bn to US$200bn) will not change without a new policy and, what is more, is likely to increase still further in the years to come.

It is therefore not surprising that the money markets are jittery and that providers of capital charge high risk premiums. The key to a lasting interest reduction rests with the fiscal policy — and this applies not only to the USA.

The criticism of America's economic policy must not be permitted to obscure the fact that the root of the problems in other countries does not lie primarily in the United States. Most of these problems are home made.

Chief economic adviser to the White House Mr Weidenbaum recently hit the nail on the head when he said in an interview: "Even if the United States did not exist and if there were no dollar, many West European countries would still have economic problems."

He is right, and I do not exclude the Federal Republic of Germany.

Are not the high interest rates everywhere the price which not only the Americans but their trading partners as well have to pay for past omissions in fighting their own inflation and adapting their economic policies?

Does the imbalance in the distribution of burdens between monetary and fiscal policy in many industrial countries not also contribute to high interest rates?

And have rising public sector deficits not led to an atmosphere of insecurity everywhere?

It is of little use to blame only one party for the difficulties all governments have today in wielding their economic instruments.

All countries must make every effort to solve their problems and must not content themselves with pointing accusing fingers.

Otto Lambsdorff

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 23 May 1982)

■ HUMAN RIGHTS

A bid to help threatened minorities

The Society for Endangered Peoples, a minority rights group based in Göttingen, is the second-largest human rights organisation in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Its brief is to help minorities whose survival is threatened and who lack a lobby and seldom hit the headlines. There is no shortage of them.

All over the world, in the West, in the East and in the Third World, there is discrimination of racial, ethnic and religious minorities.

There are the Indians in North, Central and South America, the Armenians, Kurds, Crimean Tartars, Tibetans, West Papuans, East Timorese and, last not least, the Romanies in Germany.

They are but a handful of the peoples the organisation has sought to help since it was launched 12 years ago. It provides publicity and gives representatives of these minority groups an opportunity of stating their case.

They can thus be sure of a hearing from international public opinion. Their protests will not go entirely unheard.

The association was set up in 1970 in succession to the Biafra Aid Committee established two years earlier in Hamburg by Tilman Zülch, who is still national chairman.

It is now the second-largest human rights group in Germany; only Amnesty has more members. *The Göttingen-based society has roughly 1,400 members in 24 regional groups.*

In order to maintain political independence it manages as a matter of deliberate policy without government or other subsidies, relying entirely on membership subscriptions and donations.

There are three full-time paid workers at the Göttingen head office. All other work is done free of charge by about 100 volunteers.

The organisation enjoys the encouragement and support of public figures such as Carl Amery, Helmut Gollwitzer, Robert Jungk, Luise Rinser and Kurt Scharf.

Its supporters included the late Ernst Bloch and Erich Kästner. They and others lent their names to appeals to the United Nations, governments and international opinion.

Close ties are maintained with similar organisations abroad, such as the Anti-Slavery Society in London, which was founded early last century.

Some enjoy consultative status at the United Nations and are able to wield indirect influence on UN bodies, especially the Human Rights Commission.

The society's aim is to combat not only physical genocide but also the cultural variety brought about by compulsory resettlement or enforced settlement of migratory communities, suppression of language and culture and destruction of traditional economic patterns, especially of tribal communities.

It feels its role to be first and foremost that of a human rights organisation, and, as Tessa Hofmann of the Berlin group and the national executive committee puts it, has no desire to compete with existing humanitarian, ecclesiastical and development aid associations.

The main emphasis of its activities is on information, documentation and protest. It publishes a magazine, *Pogrom*, to put across to a wider public the survival problems minorities face. Specialists and representatives of minority communities from all over the world write for the magazine.

It pillories all kinds of apartheid, racism, colonialism and imperialism, regardless of the reputation enjoyed by the system of government, as the society is keen to point out.

The magazine also draws attention to political, educational and humanitarian ways of lending support and reports on progress made by campaigns in hand.

Heinrich Albertz, the Protestant clergyman who succeeded Willy Brandt as mayor of Berlin, says *Pogrom* plays an important part in human rights work: "The fight for rights presupposes that we know what is going on."

The society also publishes at irregular intervals a Fourth World information service that is sent free of charge to about 1,200 people.

They are sent it on the understanding that they will write personal letters of protest to those responsible for the activities exposed.

Letter campaigns are said to have proved surprisingly effective in many instances, having shown activities to have been made known and prompted the authorities to refrain from further brutality.

Even when protests and appeals have not proved immediately effective, they have at least been important as a gesture of solidarity with and encouragement of those affected.

The society and its regional groups arrange local activities and exhibitions on minorities and their problems. In Berlin, for instance, there is an exhibition about the problems faced by Argentinian Indians.

How effective are such activities? As Tessa Hofmann puts it, in campaigning on behalf of oppressed minorities, you are bound to want to achieve more than will actually be accomplished.

But the society refers mainly, in this context, to its years of civil rights work on behalf of Romanies in Germany.

The October 1979 Romany rally at Belsen concentration camp and the May 1981 International Romany Congress in Göttingen have not been without effect.

Nazi genocide as it affected the Romany community has been brought to the attention of a wider public. A Romany lobby has emerged, and at both state and national levels parliamentarians feel called on to help them.

But these are only the first steps on a long road, and human rights progress will continue to call for hard work and achieve results only little by little.

Eberhard Fuchs

(Der Tagesspiegel, 16 May 1982)

Won only at the cost of blood and hardship

Human rights, referred to at times as civil and political, or fundamental rights, are the highest achievements of civilisation.

They testify, to take a practical example, to endeavours to abolish slavery that have taken nearly 2,000 years and still not entirely succeeded.

Human rights reflect an idea of what can be achieved. They are the result of bitter historical experience and of mankind having learnt to recognise its own imperfections and to set its cap at better behaviour.

The US declaration of independence and bill of rights laid down human rights from 1776, some having previously been laid down in the statute book in Britain.

The French Revolution in 1789 marked the beginning of nearly 200 years of human rights development in Europe, progressing along two lines.

The first sees human rights declarations as thought patterns and value catalogues that are envisaged as making their mark on the law in general via interpretation.

The second, which has held pride of place since the Second World War, is aimed at committing lawmakers to basic rights embodied in constitutions.

The world today is covered by a network of codified fundamental rights. In South America and Europe there are human rights conventions.

The European convention is binding on lawmakers in countries that have ratified it. One of the latest to do so was France. They even undertake to accept the jurisdiction of an international court that handles individual complaints.

The UN human rights convention, which is much more specific than the 1948 declaration, is binding on the Bonn government, among others.

It reinforces the efficacy of the rights laid down in Basic Law, the 1949 Bonn constitution, rights of which the Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe is the custodian.

Basic rights such as freedom of opinion and the Press, respect for human dignity, the right to a fair trial, freedom of religious belief, prohibition of torture, the ban on arbitrary arrest and many others are generally in force.

There may be occasional breaches in the Federal Republic of Germany, but they are the exception, not the rule.

The state tries hard and with success to enforce basic rights. If it failed to do so, it would be called to order by the courts in Karlsruhe and Strasbourg, the rulings of both of which it has undertaken to abide by.

Individual instances of violations of basic rights nonetheless occur. The police may not be trigger-happy but they have been known to shoot suspects sooner than might be warranted.

Suspects remanded in custody and awaiting trial have been known to wait too long before being put on trial. People can be committed to lunatic asylums too readily.

Terrorists are not given as fair a deal as others. In Nuremberg last year young demonstrators were arrested using photostat warrants that rightly came in for criticism.

But the idea of human rights is alive and well, and trenchant criticism is levelled at shortcomings. People expect and demand their rights.

The fewer shortcomings there are, the more difficult it is to bring about improvements.

But, viewed against the backdrop of history, it is amazing how fast and firmly the Federal Republic has come to respect basic rights.

Those who realise how much blood was shed and how much hardship undergone before human rights were granted are bound to feel at least aggrieved by insensitive comments about these glowing ideals.

Hans-Jürgen Schilling, general secretary of the German Red Cross, says the state is increasing tending to implement radical humanitarian demands.

His choice of words and line of thought testify to dissatisfaction with the idea of demands of principle being made of the state.

This dissatisfies him because such demands naturally limit the power of the state, but that is precisely what they are intended to do.

Those who would like to reduce human pain and suffering can hope to do so by basing their views on values of principle and calling for the restoration of basic rights.

They may also seek to do so by constantly applying balm to the wounds inflicted by the state as it exercises power yet without forbidding the state to inflict wounds.

But this is not the outlook of those who fought for an established human rights. They lay down principles of humanity that for good reason brook no compromise.

They cannot be accused of constantly conjuring legal formulas to no effect.

Alfons Heutgen

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 2 May 1982)

Amnesty shows its list of breaches

Human rights presupposed peace and true peace was inconceivable unless human rights were observed, the German unit of Amnesty International agreed at its annual conference in Leverkusen.

Members were called on to impress on the peace movement the need for human rights to be upheld as the basis of true peace.

Amnesty was aghast at the Bonn government's new arms export regulations, which were even less restrictive than their predecessors.

They made it much easier to export armaments to countries where human rights were trampled under foot.

The organisation called for regulations to be redrafted and an unambiguous legal human rights requirement to be stipulated before arms were exported.

The conference learnt with dismay that murder of political opponents and innocent bystanders had increased dramatically in many countries.

Amnesty plans to step up its information campaign on political murders by governments and to agitate worldwide against this form of repression.

Members of the German section called on the Argentine government to divulge information about thousands who had "disappeared," including children and their parents.

Given the critical human rights situation in Turkey the conference welcomed hunger strikes held in 12 German cities by Germans, Turks and Kurds to draw attention to violations of human rights in Turkey.

Amnesty International says prisoners continue to be tortured systematically in Turkish jails.

epd

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 1 June 1982)

■ MOTORING

Booming exports push up the sales

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

Motor industry exports are up again. Daimler-Benz, Volkswagen, Opel, BMW, Ford and Porsche, the six domestic manufacturers, exported four per cent more last year than in 1980.

In the first four months of 1982 they were up 26 per cent on the same period last year. At this rate exports this year could reach two million units.

This is a figure reminiscent of the golden days before the 1973 oil crisis. It is, as BMW's managing director Eberhard von Kuenheim puts it, a mountain on top of a mountain.

What makes it seem so impressive is that the export mountain is seen from the trough of a domestic sales depression. Since mid-1979 German motorists have shown steadily less interest in buying new cars.

This lack of interest persists and, in contrast to earlier sales crises, the fewer private cars sold are not being offset by brisker business in commercial vehicles.

The construction industry is so deep in the doldrums that it is easy to imagine motor dealers having difficulty in selling trucks or bulldozers.

None would be sold at all if discounts were not offered, and they can amount to as much as DM60,000 off the list price of the new vehicle.

So the upswing is due solely to exports. Last year began with short-time working at some plants but by the year's end extra shifts were being worked to meet export orders.

Extra staff were hired, and output increased until the end of April to 16 per cent more commercial vehicles than ran off German assembly lines between January and April last year.

German manufacturers were quick to capitalise on a deutschemark that had slumped against the dollar and on voluntary export restrictions accepted by their Japanese competitors in Europe and the United States.

Export growth rates are well into double figures, especially in France, Britain and Italy, where German cars have plugged the gap left by Japanese quotas.

Yet domestic business has failed to gain momentum, largely because the reasons why people are reluctant to invest in a new car are still very much in evidence.

There are too many people out of work and too few jobs going in Germany at present, and people who are worried they might be made redundant and be unable to find a new job are not going to buy a car.

Cigarettes and alcohol have gone up again, and prices are going up at the filling station too. Many motorists can expect to be paying more in rent before long.

Wage rises have been in keeping with the state of the economy, meaning no more than moderate, whereas motor manufacturers have cleverly staggered what amount to substantial price increases.

There is no way in which Germany can be said to be any nearer a climate favourable for buying a new car, no matter how convinced manufacturers may be that a demand backlog has built up in recent years.

Consumers are not alone in feeling unsure of themselves. The industry is none too sure where it stands either. There has been talk of higher excise duties on motor fuel.

In preliminary discussions on how to plug the 1983 budget gap Bonn Finance Minister Manfred Lahnstein has ruled out an increase in oil duties, but he hinted that in principle he was in favour of the idea.

Exports may have been fine, but there is no guarantee that the boom will continue. German exports overall have been spectacular of late, clearly reducing the current account deficit.

The result has been a deutschemark that is looking up in money markets, making imports, such as crude oil, cheaper but making exports, such as cars, dearer.

Export orders declined in April. Was it the boom already levelling out? Motor manufacturers are sure not to find making money any easier in the United States, Brazil and Argentina, where the economy has been hard-hit by the recession.

Their main competitor, Japan, will be even keener to sell cars in markets where it has yet to be forced to practise self-restraint, and Japan is both the world's leading car manufacturer and its foremost exporter.

Given sluggish domestic demand and risks in export markets, German motor manufacturers do not, despite sales successes so far this year, expect to increase output substantially.

For an economy in which one job in seven depends on the motor industry, this means that not even it is in a position to give the economy that much-needed shot in the arm any longer.

Andreas Richter

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 2 June 1982)

Liquid petroleum gas 'is the ideal fuel'

Liquid petroleum gas, says the Advisory Council on Environmental Affairs in a report to the Bonn government, is an ideal motor fuel and causes much less pollution than petrol or diesel engines.

Bonn Interior Minister Gerhart Baum said the government would be taking steps to ensure that the gas-powered car did not remain an outsider on German roads.

Engines converted from petrol to liquid gas, the report said, emit no lead, less dust, less carbon monoxide and fewer hydrocarbons into the atmosphere.

Petrol engines converted to gas are preferable to diesel engines in giving off no soot, no sulphur dioxide and making less noise too.

These advantages remain quantifiable when a hydrid system is used, with engines capable of switching from gas to conventional liquid fuel and vice-versa. Gas-only engines can be more accurately tuned, so their performance is better.

So the advisory council recommends fitting out short-range fleets such as city buses or delivery vans with gas engines.

The public sector could set an example, while in cities taxis could also meaningfully and practicably be converted to liquid gas.

To encourage people to change over, the council says LPG filling stations should be subsidised, as should training courses for mechanics.

Road tax exemption could be granted as a further incentive, but the crucial factor from the motorist's point of view was whether liquid gas seemed likely to cut running costs.

Given conversion costs of about DM2,000 and slightly higher fuel consumption, the 30 pfennigs less per litre gas costs at the filling station is not enough, the experts say.

The Bonn government might consider giving an undertaking that there would be no increase in excise duty on liquid natural gas for at least five years.

Herr Baum said in Bonn that despite tougher clean air regulations for new cars atmospheric pollution from car exhausts was on the increase.

There were more cars on the road, he said, and they were putting in more mileage. Forty billion litres of motor fuel a year were burnt, resulting in 420 billion cubic metres of exhaust fumes.

This was the equivalent of a nearly two-metre layer of smog covering the entire surface area of the country.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 28 May 1982)

Nipping in ahead of the Japanese ... the VW Santana: soon to roll off the Shanghai assembly line. (Photo: Volkswagenwerk)

VW stake out a claim in China

Hamburger Abendblatt

Volkswagens made in China will shortly roll off the assembly lines of the largest car factory in Shanghai: VW Santanas made of parts shipped from Germany and assembled by Chinese mechanics.

Chinese mechanics and engineers hope to learn everything they need to know about making a modern car. They plan to design and make cars of their own one day.

It will be the third time a German car has been used as a model in China. Two Mercedes models have been imitated there since the 50s and 70s respectively.

They are among the finest cars made in China.

An initial 200 or so Santanas are to be assembled in Shanghai. The contract is shortly to be signed in Germany by Volkswagen and the Chinese Motor Industry Association.

For Volkswagen it could mean a foothold in China and a take-off point for good business. VW were only awarded the contract after Japanese companies had refused to allow their models to be assembled in China, with the know-how transfer that would entail.

Japanese conditions

The Japanese insisted on China buying outright Japanese cars made and assembled in Japan. This was unacceptable.

The motor industry is still in its infancy in China, a countrywhere the bicycle reigns supreme. A swift build-up in the near future is fairly unlikely now the Chinese leaders have decided to give priority to the manufacture of everyday items.

The motor-car is not even a consumer durable in China. It is a luxury only senior Party officials can afford, and then only on official business.

Ordinary Chinese are not allowed to own a car, and the signs are that this ban will continue for some time.

The country's road network leaves much to be desired. China has only 150,000km of paved roads. Only three sections totalling 120km might be termed autobahns, but they aren't really.

On the four-lane highway heading north-east out of Peking horses and carts, donkeys and cyclists cross the road like jaywalkers.

Garages and filling stations exist only in the major cities. Long-distance transport isn't very important in China, and those who do travel long distances do so by train.

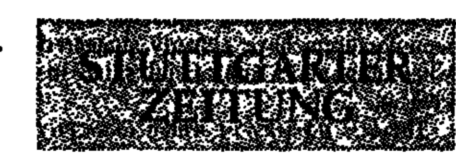
There are an estimated 2.8 million cars in China, most 10 years old and older. They are mostly gaz-guzzlers. The prestige Red Flag saloon for Party officials does less than seven miles to the gallon.

Dietmar Schulz/dpa

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 26 May 1982)

■ AGRICULTURE

Phases of the moon and no pesticides 'a way to beat a polluted planet'



Alternative farmers till the soil in strict accordance with phases of the Moon. Artificial fertilisers and pesticides they obviously abhor.

The movement, which grew steadily during the 1970s, dates back to before the war. There are now well over 1,000 biodynamic farmers in Germany.

They base their approach to farming on crop rotation, natural fertilisers and an admixture of ideology.

Their fruit and vegetables, grain and cattle are, they say, the healthiest available on a polluted planet, and they themselves thrive on prosperity.

In an affluent society more and more consumers are able and willing to pay up to three times the normal price for what is claimed to be biologically pure food.

Alternative farmers may or may not be cranks; they are certainly outsiders in agribusiness. But they may yet be the start of something new in farming techniques.

Oddly enough, Western Europe has never been as well-fed as it is today. Next to nowhere is more protein eaten. Europeans are also world champions in fat consumption. According to Bonn Agriculture Ministry statistics we have never eaten so inexpensively either since the days when man was a gatherer and hunter and money had yet to be invented.

The average West German family today spends only about a quarter of its income after tax on food and drink. Thirty years ago nearly half the family budget went on food. In 1970 the figure was still 30 per cent.

Chemicals and technology have been largely responsible for the calorie glut. Farmers today, using artificial fertilisers, pesticides and mechanisation, can feed 30 mouths each, or 10 times as many as in 1900.

Since the turn of the century German wheat, potato and milk yields have been trebled, but at a price.

Last year German farmers used mineral fertiliser worth roughly DM5.5bn. It included seven million tons of nitrogen-based fertiliser.

One-and-a-half million tons of pure nitrogen were spread on German fields, making it the most important plant nutrient, alongside phosphorus and potash.

High yields were the result, but crops returned the compliment in the form of a high mineral count in food and fodder crops.

Yet fertiliser boosts not only the yield but also the quality of the produce. It is a perpetuum mobile by virtue of what goes on in the plant biochemically, doubling the energy input, chemists say.

German crop and cattle farmers have long realised this fact. They my not top the list in Europe for intensity of fertiliser use, but they are among the leaders.

The Dutch spread an average 238kg of nitrogen per hectare of cultivated farmland. The Danes, Belgians and Germans total an average 120kg or so. The French make do with a mere 30kg.

The amount varies widely from one part of the country to another. Baden-Württemberg, in the south-west, uses 81kg per hectare, or less than half the quantity spread up north by farmers in Schleswig-Holstein.

BASF, the chemicals giant, have thrived on sales of mineral-based fertiliser. Yet they admit that cash crops in Germany are for the most part amply supplied with both phosphorus and potash.

More, they say, would not make much difference, whereas extra nitrogen is felt to be likely to boost yields still in some cases.

Oddly enough, sales problems have arisen in connection with ammonia-based fertilisers. Capacity is large and pressure is heavy, both at home and from imports.

The fertiliser industry as a whole is currently working at only 80 per cent of capacity. Production facilities have been shut down temporarily or for good by Chemische Werke Hüls and UK Wesseling.

This is a sure sign of problems, but the position seems to be on the mend this year. Ruhrstickstoff, one manufacturer, even feel there might be bottlenecks in world markets during 1982.

They are attributed to stable oil prices, which have enabled the developing countries to buy more artificial fertiliser.

But the enterprise shown by German farmers does not meet with unconditional approval. Trenchant criticism has been voiced by Bonn Interior Minister Gerhart Baum, whose portfolio includes environmental affairs.

Intensive cultivation of 85 per cent of farmland had, he said, had a devastating effect on the environment. The damage was only beginning to come to light, he wrote to the National Farmers' Union.

Practices to which Herr Baum takes offence include indiscriminate use of pesticides, using too many drugs in raising cattle, and overfertilising.

BASF defends the use of mineral-based fertilisers, which consist mainly of phosphates, urea, ammonia and nitric acid. Two billion people would be starving if they were not available, the company argues.

Hoechst, another of West Germany's Big Three chemicals manufacturers, is running a series of advertisements with the slogan: "Starving plants fill no bellies."

Even the Bonn Agriculture Ministry is not entirely easy at the thought of how modern farming works. Modern production methods entail risks, it admits.

They range from the danger of soil being flattened by agricultural machinery weighing tons to damage to the topsoil by overfertilisation and pesticides and repercussions on the eco-balance and ground water.

Half the nitrogenuous fertilisr sold contains nitrates, and their effect on water may be compared with that of the sour, or acid, rain of industrial pollution on woods and forests.

Both relate to Biblical fears felt by mankind, the fear of spring water being poisoned and of downpours that bring disaster.

As always in cases as serious as this, scientists disagree on the extent of damage caused by nitrates and their long-term effects.

Some say they could lead to the emergence of nitrosamines in the human body, some of which are powerful carcinogens. Others dispute this claim.

To be on the safe side, from July the legal limit for nitrates in drinking-water is to be reduced from 90 to 50 milligrams per litre.

Where soil use is particularly intensive, as in growing vegetables and wine, nitrates seem to have been shown, in certain soils, to result in an increase in the nitrate count in ground water.

This point is made by P. Obermann, a Bochum hydrogeologist, in a report to the North Rhine-Westphalian Ministry of Agriculture.

"The steady increase in use of fertilisers," he writes, "accounts for an increasing nitrate output. In unfavourable circumstances the nitrate count in ground water can exceed the permitted levels."

In the Lower Rhine area a well has already had to be shut down temporarily for this reason. Over 60 years the nitrate count in its water increased tenfold.

Yet whether this extra nitrogen is always or entirely due to artificial fertiliser is another matter. Views still differ.

Stables produce nitrate in dung, while the soil produces natural nitrates of its own, and for once fertiliser manufacturers deserve a pat on the back.

They are understandably keen to sell their product but invariably warn again overfertilising because it is expensive to no effect.

Alternative farmers are not beset by such problems, but they are unlikely even to offer a genuine economic alternative. At present they work barely a thousandth of West German farmland.

They have benefited from a market opening and capitalised on the longing of urban customers for the nature they have helped to destroy.

Labour costs are higher in alternative farming, while yields are lower, increasing unit costs and farm-gate prices to an extent that cannot be offset by the lower outlay on, say, fertilisers.

Nutritionists are very much at odds on the alleged quality of alternative farm produce.

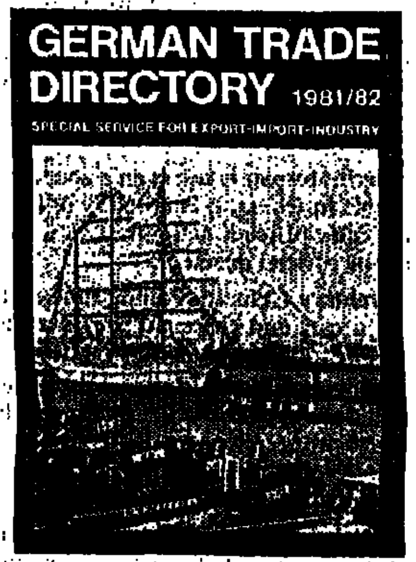
This is not to say that alternative farming might not give agriculture in general a shot in the arm. As Bavarian Agriculture Minister Hans Eisenmann puts it:

"We promote this form of farming because it sets great store by the importance of the soil and of life in it, of natural connections and of an overall view of agricultural production."

So the alternative farmers, with their doubts about the value of chemicals in agriculture, could well have a progressive role to play, provided they do not take too one-sided a view, as their opponents tend to do.

Leonhard Spielhofer

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 29 May 1982)



■ EXHIBITIONS

Gutenberg still makes a good impression

WELT SONNTAG

The most important exhibit at the Gutenberg Museum in Mainz is, not surprisingly, a Gutenberg Bible. More surprisingly, perhaps, it was not bought until 1978.

Since 1925 the museum devoted to the city's most famous son, the inventor of printing, had had to make do with half a Gutenberg Bible, a New Testament bought for 5,000 marks.

The Bible purchased in 1978, one of only four dozen still known to exist, cost DM3.7m and was bought by the city of Mainz from H. P. Kraus, the New York dealer.

It was a bargain at the price. Two other Gutenberg Bibles changed hands that year for over DM5m.

The Mainz Bible is known as the Shuckburgh Bible. It ws bought by an English nobleman of that name about 200 years ago but was lost and not rediscovered until 1950.

In 1978 it was air-freighted in to Rhine-Main airport, Frankfurt, at 8.30 a.m. Journalists and public figures were waiting at the foot of the gangway to welcome it.

After passing through customs it was driven the 20 miles to Mainz and the museum with a police escort. That was last returned to the city where it had been printed over 500 years ago.

A bargain or not at DM3.7m, the Gutenberg Museum certainly could not afford that kind of money. Its annual allowance for buying new stock is a mere DM60,000!

But the city chipped in. So did the Rhineland-Palatinate, with DM1m. And DM300,000 was raised in donations by members of the public.

The Bible, one of the four dozen that are left of the 180 Gutenberg printed, is kept in a strongroom and exhibited alongside the New Testament bought in 1925.

The strongroom is 20 square metres in size and kept under continual electronic surveillance, with an alarm wired straight to the city's police headquarters.

In glass showcases, indirectly lit, unique documents from the early days of printing are exhibited.

They include a 1455 letter of indulgence, or remission of sins, issued by the Roman Catholic Church and the 1459 Mainz Psalter. They alone are worth DM8m.

But the star of the show is unquestionably the Gutenberg Bible, both testaments bound in red Morocco leather, 1,280 pages of 42 lines each, printed using 290 different symbols.

It is generally agreed to be the finest printed book in the world.

It was printed by Johannes von Gensfleisch of the Gutenberg farm, to use his full name. He himself adopted the shorter form Johannes zu Gutenberg, after the family farm.

He is generally held to be the inventor of printing as we know it using cast and mobile individual letters.

He was born in or about 1400. His father, Friele Gensfleisch, was a Mainz patrician. Nothing is known about his youth. He is known only to have lived in Strasbourg from 1434 to 1444 and there to have studied printing techniques.

In 1448 he returned to Mainz and experimented in his home town with the printing process he had developed.

His first work was to be a Latin Bible and he was determined it would measure up to comparison with the finest manuscripts.

In Johann Fust he found a local merchant who proved a generous financier and partner. Fust twice lent him 800 guilders, a small fortune (a town house cost between 80 and 100 guilders).

But Fust had hoped to get a faster return on his investment, whereas Gutenberg, a perfectionist, took his time. It was too long for Gutenberg's impatient backer.

Fust sued him in 1455 for repayment of capital and interest, a total of 2,026 guilders. That was Gutenberg's ruin. He forfeited his workshop and the 200 Bibles already printed.

He was reduced to poverty, but his contemporaries were aware of the importance of the art he had invented.

In 1465 Gutenberg was made a courtier by Adolf of Nassau, the archbishop and electoral prince. So his later years were spent in financial security.

He was given food, clothing and 2,000 litres of wine a year. He died on 3 February 1468 in Mainz, a bachelor with no children.

In 1900, his 500th birthday anniversary, Mainz planned to hold a major celebration in honour of its famous son. Preparations began as early as 1895.

It was then that Karl Dziatzko, a Göttingen librarian, suggested setting up a Gutenberg Museum as a memorial of general and lasting value.

The Gutenberg festival held on 24 June 1900 was the largest ever held in the city. In glorious weather the procession that toured the streets included 2,500 people in costumes and several hundred horses and carts.



This is how it all began. (Photo: Gutenberg Museum)

It was, wrote the *Leipziger Illustrierte Zeitung*, a spectacle the like of which could not often have been seen before.

The museum was opened exactly a year later. It was first housed in two rooms of the Electoral Prince's castle and consisted of exhibits on loan from the city library.

The museum's brief was to collect anything to do with the history of script, printing and books and to catalogue and exhibit it.

Its stock fast increased, being swelled by purchases and donations. In 1912 it moved to larger premises, a new building on the banks of the Rhine.

In 1932 it moved into its present quarters, a baroque palace opposite the cathedral that was once a hotel where Voltaire, Mozart and Goethe stayed.

The building was bombed in February 1945 but its valuable exhibits were salvaged.

In 1962 Mainz celebrated the city's two thousandth anniversary, and the palace was rebuilt to mark the occasion and give the exhibits back their old home.

A new wing has been added to what is now an international museum of printing. It is not a book mausoleum but a fun museum, wrote *The Times*, London, when it was opened.

A Gutenberg workshop is one of the exhibits. It is used to show how a page of the Bible was made up for printing 500 years ago.

There are also film shows and participatory events such as letter baking for children.

The museum deserves the attribute international. It outlines the history of the printed word from Babylonian cuneiform tablets 4,500 years old via eighth-century Japanese woodcut prints to modern photosetting equipment.

Exhibits in the 213 showcases include both Luther pamphlets and a rare edition of Struwwelpeter, the 19th century German classic children's tale.

There is no charge for admission and over 200,000 people visit the museum every year.

Souvenirs on sale include a reprinted page of the Gutenberg Bible for DM6 and the smallest book in the world for DM30. It is the Lord's Prayer in seven languages and can easily be hidden under a one-pfennig coin.

The book is sold complete with a magnifying glass.

Jutta Hein

(Welt am Sonntag, 23 May 1982)

Big problems in preventing damage to exhibits

Mannheimer MORGEN

Conserving and exhibiting was the topic at the fourth symposium of the International Council of Museums in Lindau on Lake Constance.

It was a tale of items loaned for exhibitions and returned damaged, with slides shown by the chief restorer at the Historic Monuments Office, Vienna.

They included a late Gothic wooden statue of a saint with a wide crack in it, a Madonna returned with the paint in bubbles all over her face, paintings in which the layers of paint have shifted above and below each other, and frames broken or pitted with saw marks.

This set of slides clearly showed what he called the negative balance, from the restorer's point of view, of major exhibitions.

The gathering was chaired by Professor Hermann Auer of the Deutsches Museum, Munich. Its subject could just as well have been billed as conserving *or* exhibiting.

The interests of restorers and conservationists are clearly diametrically opposed to those of exhibition organisers.

Organisers undertake to ensure all security precautions, but this, one participant said, was an undertaking the scope of which they failed to grasp.

Art historians, he complained, had absolutely no idea about changes in material and treatment. Travel definitely ages works of art faster than would normally be the case, quite apart from the possibility of external damage.

An altar that has survived for centuries in a church may, for instance, be shipped for exhibition somewhere where temperature, humidity and light can cause changes in dimension and irreparable damage.

Yet works of this kind have been known to be loaned despite stiff resistance by the owner to heavy pressure exerted by politicians.

Ruinous changes can be made to a work of art by the shake, rattle and roll of shipment, an underground rail service beneath the museum or gallery, the tramp of people going round the exhibition and even microwaves from the rotors of jet aircraft they are flown in.

Then there are unforeseeable mishaps en route. Crates are left standing in the rain because of an overtime ban at the airport in New York, a tea break in London or a wildcat strike in Rome.

Crates have to be forced open because spanners in the one country don't match nuts in the other. Small wonder that restorers in Lindau had not a good word to say about special exhibitions.

Instead, they came up with tales of one kind of damage after another, including new varieties on which little or no research had been done.

Art historians disagreed. They said

Continued on page 12

■ THE CINEMA

The unhappy fairy-tale princess, Romy Schneider, dies at 43

Movie actress Romy Schneider has died in her Paris home, aged 43.

"You can wake up suddenly one day and find yourself in total emptiness — no conversation, no togetherness, no courage, no way of giving because all there was to give has already been given," she once said.

Romy Schneider tended to get deeply unhappy and see the writing on the wall before it was written. "One day you're on top and the next you're way down, trampled underfoot like a hot potato," she mused.

Her career had its ups and downs but never had she sunk to depths that would have warranted her self-destructive pessimism.

In one of her last interviews, she said that she was too *kaputt* to properly to defend herself. She spoke of her fears, her loneliness and her homelessness. Towards the end — as if a single thrust of resistance could change everything — she added: "I will go on living and I'll live truly well."

Like much in the life of this deeply unhappy fairytale princess, this, too, was an illusion.

Talent, she said, is work; and nobody can claim tht she had docilely yielded to an overpowering destiny.

But the life that fuelled the dreams of shopgirls was under an evil star: Broken marriages, the suicide of her first husband, severe illnesses, the fatal accident of her son — all this exerted a terrible power and reversed all the promises of happiness that had come her way in such profusion.

Romy Schneider had only just turned 18 when she said with that melancholy that was typical of her: "It is a great mistake to believe that life has given me something for nothing."

These were disturbing words spoken by an actress who, as Sissi, had captivated millions.

Franz Marischka, who directed the Sissi series, told her at the time: "You will make all young girls in Europe dream."

Sissi is perhaps the only film myth the German movie industry created after the war. In any event, the character was the expression of unbridled hope that the power of beauty and innocence could prevail over politics, envy and hatred.

The rebellious Hungarians genuflected before the humanity of the young empress and the mutinous Italians cheered her in St. Mark's Square in Venice. These films were the acme of sentimental movies and balm to royalists to whom the lacklustre tactics and bickerings of democracy had become distasteful.

Young Romy Schneider was a natural for the role of Empress Elisabeth of Austria. So perfect was she that people no longer wanted to differentiate between fact and fiction.

"Sissi was a millstone round my neck. She smiled beatifically when I felt like crying and suffering. Whenever I set foot in a big department store in Vienna, Paris or Rome or, indeed, even at my hotel, they pointed at me, saying 'look, there's Sissi'. I felt like some Austrian dessert everybody wanted to devour."



The memoirs of Rosa Albach-Retty contain an episode that has now become particularly macabre.

As the author visited the Vienna catacombs and the guide pointed to a sarcophagus which, he said, housed Austria's unhappy Empress Elisabeth, known as Sissi, one of the women in the group yelled: "Oh God! Sissi ... Romy has died."

Romy Schneider was a dream figure and the people wanted their dream. They did not want to know about the fiction of cinema and sought only a haven.

But all this was a long time ago. Today, it is difficult to imagine the courage and strength a young girl had to summon to resist this longing on the part of the people, which was also a quest for love.

Romy Schneider made three Sissi films before she destroyed this synthesis of person and movie legend. She searched for her ego as an actress and perhaps also biographical ego — even at the cost of a threatening debacle.

After the Sissi series, she made *Scampolo* and *Mädchen in Uniform* (Girls in Uniform). Another bid to escape the Sissi cliché was *Monpti* and *Die Halbzarte* (The Semi Tender One).

But her escape attempts did not pay off at the box office. The Germans reacted like spurned lovers.

The tragedy of Romy Schneider's life had much to do with her desperate attempt to rid herself of her film cliché.

This turned her life into a constant and energy-sapping struggle.

Even years later, she allowed herself to be photographed naked in an attempt to escape the naivety and innocence of the character that marked her destiny.

Stars cannot escape the tragedy of not belonging to themselves but to the public. They are fitted, so to speak, with a public biography.

Romy Schneider never quite submitted to this, which might have been a contributing factor in making her such a conspicuous and impressive personality.

She heroically defended her private life, which earned her much enmity in a business in which only intimacy is rewarded.

Hidden in a tree at the outer edge of her property, there was a camera complete with telephoto lens which a news photographer operated by remote control from a nearby hill whenever he caught a glimpse of her.

Romy Schneider's death raises the question as to the code of ethics in a profession that has little regard for human dignity. As to Romy Schneider, it was always said that she was difficult, mulish and neurotic. But this was tantamount to confusing cause and effect — and what an effect.

She was born in Vienna on 23 September 1938. Her parents were Wolf Albach-Retty and Magda Schneider, both actors of repute.

One of her great achievements was not to have been smothered by her parents' fame, as happens to so many children of prominent parents.

She was only just 14 when, together with her mother, she played in the sedate film *Wenn der weisse Flieder wieder blüht* (When the White Lilac Blooms Again) — her first brush with the camera.

Everything in her life pointed to early fame and early obscurity. And this is what would have happened if Romy Schneider had not been possessed by that rebellious spirit that made her say that she was sick and tired of being "a young lady wrapped in cottonwool who has to be polite all the time."

She fled to Paris, which many interpreted as "treason" — the height of obtuseness.

In the last statements she made there were indications that she realised that she had made too many films and been too indiscriminate in making them.

The fact is that only few of the Romy Schneider films will survive (in artistic terms) beyond her death. Among them are Visconti's *Ludwig II*, Losey's *Das Mädchen und der Mörder* (The Girl and The Murderer), and Orson Welles's *Der Prozess* (The Trial).

Romy Schneider in her last film, 'Passante sans Souci'. (Photo: dpa)

She had an almost slavish relationship with Visconti and Welles. "If Orson Welles were to ask me to play an insignificant little role or take on the lead without pay, I'd drop everything and accept."

She must have felt that her talent, if it was to develop to its very peak, needed the maniacal obsession and drive of a genius.

She had worked too much with solid artisans of the trade (like Claude Sautet), with men who gave her an image but were unable to get everything out of her.

In retrospect, it is obvious that her reputation was conspicuously unaffected by fads.

In her last years she always played an extremely modern type of woman — women who wanted to belong to both themselves and a man, who wanted the new while still steeped in the old.

Romy Schneider is dead; but her film *Die Frau mit den zwei Gesichtern* (The Woman with the Two Faces) is now in the cinemas. In this film, a man says to her: "You won't be dead as long as I live."

The consolation in her tragic death lies perhaps in the fact that the memories on celluloid defeat the finite nature of life.

Michael Schwarze
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 1 June 1982)

Continued from page 11

Damaged items

exhibitions were essential and stated sound reasons why they should be run on a large scale.

Major exhibitions, said Professor Stephan Waetzoldt, curator of the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation's museums in West Berlin, were part and parcel of the arts today.

They stimulate ideas and provide information for academic debate, especially in a country like the Federal Republic of Germany which has a backlog of demand for national identification and legitimation.

Peter Mendle of the Bonn Foreign Office stressed how important it was to arrange exhibitions of art and the arts abroad as part of the country's cultural diplomacy.

Much of what the 120 to 130 experts at Lindau had to say was on how to reduce the risks that inevitably occur when works of art are shipped around.

They called for items to be accompanied by an expert at all stages of shipment, for documentation of their condition before and after loan and for inspection well in advance of the place where they are to be shown.

They called for much more specific terms of loan agreement and inspection on the place of exhibition for temperature, humidity, light and stability.

Insurance companies are now well aware of the problems and have increased premiums. So large-scale exhibitions of items on loan may well be priced out of existence.

Dr Hans A. Lüthy of the Swiss Art Institute felt government guarantees might prove the sole solution to the problem.

But the restorers were doubtless right in saying that compromises, and at times dubious compromises, were all that could be expected to result.

A number of ways of reducing risks are likely to be so expensive that they will be ruled out by the shortage of public funds.

So the arguments will need to be carefully considered from case to case for as long as the current practice is kept up.

Professor Auer suggested in his summary that a new kind of exhibition might possibly help to solve the problem. He envisaged exhibitions along more general lines and less immediately connected to works of art.

He cited as an example The World as a Clock, from the early timepiece to the quartz chronometer and cosmic clocks on board satellites.

This would be featured alongside time as experienced by man, including (but only including) works of art.

It is an idea well worth considering.

Renate Schettler
(Mannheimer Morgen, 21 May 1982)

■ EDUCATION

First private university faces delays but student applications keep rolling in

There are still some political hurdles to be taken by Germany's first private university, despite 13 months of tough bargaining with politicians and the bureaucracies of Bonn and Düsseldorf and despite the fact that most legal conditions have been met.

Although North Rhine-Westphalia's Science Minister Hans Schwier backs the private university in Herdecke, in the Ruhr, the North Rhine-Westphalian government of Prime Minister Johannes Rau was unable to reach a decision at its last cabinet meeting.

The original intention was to open the university next autumn. But the delay in the licensing procedure led to a postponement until the autumn of 1983. However, this has now also become uncertain.

For more than a year, the backers of the university met one government condition after another. They presented a sweeping bank guarantee for the financing of the project, made concessions on the curriculum and student co-determination provisions. In addition, they planned to have even more teachers than required by the government.

The Herdecke model (which is meant as an alternative to both the traditional and the reform type of university) puts the emphasis not only on practice-oriented specialised training and compulsory general knowledge studies; it also wants to present research results in a generally understandable terminology to enable the man-in-the-street to understand what science is all about.

The envisaged university has already attracted 3,000 applications although only 260 can be accepted in the first four years.

Düsseldorf cabinet insiders say the opposition came primarily from Economic Affairs Minister Reimut Jochimsen and Interior Minister Herbert Schnoor.

They consider the financial provisions as unsatisfactory as the answer to the question of what would happen to students of medicine who wanted to transfer to another university.

Herr Schwier, on the other hand, urged the cabinet to approve the project, despite these open questions.

The protagonists of the Herdecke university consider all open questions adequately answered. They stress the fact that the federal and state university laws expressly permit the establishment of private universities, and Professor Jochimsen, they say, played a major role in drafting these laws.

They say that the opponents of the project fear the incalculable effects of such private initiative on the government monopoly of universities.

An increase of the present Herdecke budget from DM17m to several hundred million would inevitably make the Herdecke organisers dependent on industry.

The backers of the project were shocked at the government decision.

"The licensing procedure by the state has already cost us more than half a million marks," says the chairman of the University Association, Konrad Schily.

Further delays and conditions would create additional costs. Schily said that he had offered to have the financial soundness of the project confirmed by an auditor.

Should the licensing be drawn out still further, the organisers might sue the state government for its "procrastination in handling the application."

Meanwhile, there is talk of establishing a similar private university in another state of the Federal Republic of Germany.

In any event, the law, the Herdecke organisers say, is on their side: a legal opinion has already confirmed that the government cannot block the establishment of the university in the long run.

dpa
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 27 May 1982)

Islamic nations back Arab institute

The Institute for the History of Arab-Islamic Sciences has begun work in Frankfurt.

It took a year of preparatory work before the foundation council, comprising representatives of 14 Arab countries, could officially open this research centre, which is unique in the Federal Republic of Germany.

The DM6m institute building was donated by Kuwait. It has libraries, workrooms and residential quarters for visitors.

It is connected with Frankfurt University, but not part of it.

Arab countries have pledged more than DM20m for maintenance.

The organisation's aims include research projects, providing scholarships and promoting the establishment of university chairs.

Some DM30m to DM40m is needed as capital outlay, because of German legal provisions. Such institutions may only be financed from interest, leaving the capital untouched.

What has prompted the Arab world to promote Arab studies abroad?

The institute is the result of one man's initiative: Fuat Sezgin, a Turkish orientalist and professor at Frankfurt University.

Sezgin, who was awarded the DM120,000 King Faisal of Saudi Arabia Prize three years ago, has earned himself a world-wide reputation through his "History of Arab Literature" (seven of the proposed 20 volumes have so far been published).

The institute will ensure the continuation of his life work — something neither the university nor the state of Hesse could have guaranteed.

Arab financing of research in Germany has its problems. It means that one institute is unusually well endowed with money when compared with the DM800m that the Scientific Research Association has at its annual disposal for an extremely wide range of research projects.

The power of money must not be allowed to give the donors a say in matters of pure research.

It will be up to the university to ensure that the institute does not become an Islamic studies centre aimed at propaganda.

Reiner Kirst
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 21 May 1982)

■ RESEARCH

Genetic engineering will not breed geniuses — scientist

Modern genetic engineering methods and sperm banks like that established in California cannot produce geniuses, says Manfred Eigen, Göttingen Nobel prize winner for physical chemistry.

But, he told a conference, steps can be taken to promote them. He quoted examples including Mozart.

He pointed out that the word genius is closely related to the word gene, and raised the question of whether the two actually are connected.

Hereditary talents as in the families of Bach and the great physicist Niels Bohr would seem to suggest this, Eigen told delegates to the Weizmann and Hagen Institutes conference in Berlin. But the truth is that the children of geniuses are rarely themselves geniuses.

What ultimately made a genius was the central nervous system with its ten billion or so nerve cells controlled by genetic predisposition along with practice and experience.

But since both the brain and the language that resulted from it were incomplete systems, there was no limit to human thought and hence no final answer to what was right or wrong.

Right and wrong were the results of our limited ability to visualise and the drive to choose between two alternatives, Eigen suggested. What made a genius was the ability to explode traditional views of right and wrong.

Since subconscious actions and consciousness were housed in different halves of the brain and since logical and constructive thought occupied a section of the brain different from the part responsible for musical and artistic qualities, intuition was the actual creative element on which any genius performance rested.

Both art and science called for reflection in terms of language. But artists and scientists had to have additional qualities as well, among them imagination, charisma and a drive for constant renewal — a cycle of life and death.

Despite hard work, the genius unconsciously and playfully produced all this.

Eigen quoted several famous mathematicians and musicians who produced works of genius in childhood, including Blaise Pascal, Gauss, Mozart and Mendelssohn.

In others, such works did not come about until adulthood. Eigen mentioned Heisenberg (24), Pascal Jordan and Wolfgang Pauli (25) and Liebig (21).

Other great scientists, like Max Planck at 42 or Otto Hahn, who was 59 when he ushered in the nuclear age, reached zeniths later in life.

Despite the emphasis on genetic predisposition, Eigen concluded that the genetic component alone was not all.

This led him to an attack on the present educational system when he said that any move to create geniuses must begin at home and at school.

It was wrong to deride such terms as "genius", "talent" and "elite", as is done here. He censured the standardisation and levelling effect of the education system.

Demands for equality were based on our confusing equality of talent, which did not exist, with equality of opportunity in legal terms, which was one of the great achievements of mankind.

Comprehensive schools and mass universities could be understood as an expression of every citizen's right to an education and hence his equality.

But approving of such equality should also mean promoting elitist achievements.

Only outstanding performance that conveyed new knowledge could take us further considering the limitations of our present knowledge.

At the close of the three-day conference, attended by many scientists and politicians from Western Europe, Israel and the USA, State Minister at the Foreign Office Hildegard Hamm-Brücher pointed to the difficulties scientists and politicians have in dealing with each other.

Politicians didn't take the advice of scientists seriously enough and usually didn't ask for their views until after a crisis had arisen. But by then it was usually too late.

She urged that scientists be made part of the consultation process at a much earlier stage so that they could draw the politicians' attention to trends.

The problem was that politics was regarded as "dirty business" and that too few scientists were prepared to leave their universities for parliament.

Frau Hamm-Brücher conveyed the Bonn government's gratitude for the conference. It was held on the private initiative of Cohn, a German scientist and politician who emigrated to Israel.

Even before Germany established diplomatic ties with Israel, Cohn had already promoted contacts between German and Israeli scientists.

At the closing press conference, Cohn told newsmen that the Berlin meeting marked a further step in relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and Israel.

Uwe Schlicht
(Der Tagesspiegel, 22 May 1982)

■ MEDICINE

Homeopathy still has a problem of image



Homeopathy still labours under the reputation of being something of a *Weltanschauung* rather than a discipline of science.

Some universities, such as Heidelberg, Hanover and Düsseldorf, have lectures, but no chair has yet been established.

The German Homeopathic Association was founded in 1829. This year its 134th annual congress was held, in Mainz.

As opposed to orthodox medicine, homeopathy — which is based on Bacon's philosophy — proceeds from the phenomenon and man as a whole to therapy.

It is not the symptom but the disease that is treated through the regulative mechanisms of the human body. This highly individualised therapeutic method includes the person as a whole, his body and soul, in the healing process.

The stimulative therapy methods of homeopathy aim at a lasting, low risk healing process by mobilising the body's own resources.

The pivotal point here is the homeopathic pharmacology that rests on the principle of similarity whereby the cure is achieved through a medicine that causes the symptoms of the disease in a healthy person.

Effectiveness is increased by administering tiny quantities of this substance in a highly diluted form.

Such drugs are much cheaper to produce than conventional medicine.

Germany has only 5,000 homeopaths to be licensed by the Medical Association to call themselves homeopaths, general practitioners must take three specialised courses and spend a 17-month training period with an approved homeopath.

Although homeopaths are in heavy demand by patients and despite the fact that many medical students and doctors wish to familiarise themselves with this type of therapy, homeopathy is plagued by its reputation of being a *Weltanschauung* rather than a discipline of science.

The Bonn Labour Ministry's list of "positive and negative drugs in terms of cost reduction in the public health sector" puts homeopathic drugs that have no side effects at a disadvantage.

The Homeopathic Society has taken action against the ban of drugs containing aristolochia acid in a bid to prevent future measures of this nature by the health authorities.

Not only due to its back-to-nature trend but also due to the interest it has aroused, the Homeopathic Society intends to step up its information drive aimed at the general public.

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 21 May 1982)

Plans for more tumour centres

The German Cancer Fund intends for the next few yers to concentrate on the promotion of tumour centres and joint international cancer research, says the Fund's president, Dr Mildred Scheel.

Since the tumour centres, which have revolutionised the diagnosis, therapy and after-care of cancer patients, can accommodate no more than 20 per cent of sufferers, it was essential to create further specialised hospitals for the best possible tumour care.

Frau Scheel told a meeting of the fund that last year it collected the record sum of DM30.1m in donations. DM8.8m was willed to it. *dpa*

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 25 May 1982)

Attempt to make dying less painful

Some 100,000 Germans die of cancer every year. Many of these deaths are extremely painful.

Hospitals pay more attention to fighting the tumour than the pain that accompanies it.

An international congress in Heidelberg — the first of its kind in the German-speaking world — has attempted to come to grips with the problem.

The Society for the Study of Pain for Germany, Austria and Switzerland, prsented the 400 participants from all parts of the world with the latest research results in the fight against cancer-generated pain.

There are many reasons why tumours cause pain. It can be because the tumour and its metastases press against nerves; but it can also be due to the disintegration of bones or the therapy itself (surgery and radiation).

Professor Manfred Zimmermann of Heidelberg University's Physiological Institute (which organised the congress together with the German Cancer Research Centre) suggested that cancer pain can be treated and considerably reduced, if not completely eliminated.

The threat by the disease and the suspected closeness of death intensify the pain still further. The patient fears for his life.

This makes it the doctor's most important task to combat pain in advanced stages.

Professor Zimmermann deplored the fact that this is frequently ignored and that medical textbooks say little about treating pain.

The quality of life of a patient can be greatly improved by giving painkillers regularly, not only when the pain becomes unbearable. It is necessary, experts say, to break down the fears of addiction and to make a more selective use of neurosurgical possibilities such as nerve blockage or hormonal therapy.

A study on the frequency and severity of cancer pain is to be prepared in this country.

The main objective of the congress is to provide the doctors "on the front" with advice that will preserve as much quality of life for the patient as possible.

Sigrid Pitsch

(Mannheimer Morgen, 23 May 1982)

'Encouraging' results for cancer serum

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

A German-Polish research project has come up with an anti-cancer serum that mobilises the body's own defences and reduces the size of tumours.

"It is not the ultimate answer, but we're sure tht we have taken a further important step in the fight against cancer," says Professor Gerhard Pulverer, 52, scientific director of Cologne University's Hygiene Institute.

The serum is the result of years of research in which Polish and German scientists cooperated closely.

The new method, with the unwieldy scientific name propionic bacteria immuno-stimulation, is shortly to be applied to cancer patients in Cologne.

While the Cologne researchers in the past years looked after the production of the serum which they shipped to the State Hygiene Institute in Poland, their Warsaw colleagues started the first clinical treatment with the new serum four years ago. The serum was administered to patients with various types of cancer.

The results were presented at a recent international symposium in Cologne attended by experts from all parts of the world.

More than 160 Polish patients with cancer in its late stages were given the serum. The rsults were encouraging: in cases of breat cancer (skin cancer), stomach and intestinal tumours and lung cancer the tumours got much smaller.

In addition, all tumour patients showed greater resistance to infection.

Even so, Professor Pulverer warns against too much optimism: "The small number of patients and the relatively short time of observation permit only a very cautious interpretation of the results."

But he is certain that the stimulation of the body's normal defensive mechanisms plays a major role in cancer and infectious diseases.

This role, he says, has been neglected due to the progress made in chemotherapy, radiation treatment and surgery. "But even so, many open questions remain," he says.

It was not until the 1960s that medicine started paying attention to the body's defensive mechanisms and started stimulating them in cancer patients.

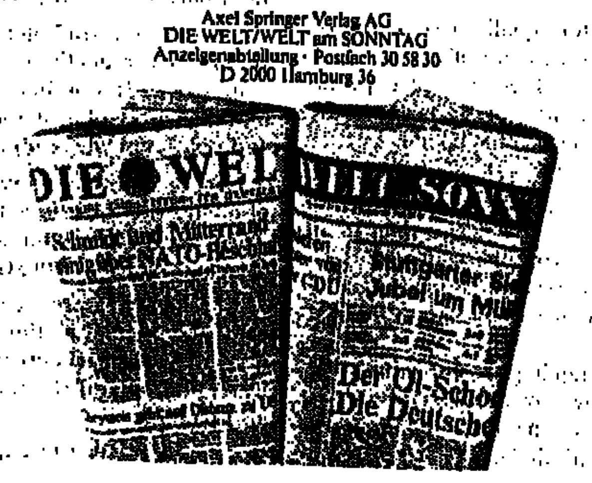
Initially, scientists concentrated on the two vaccine substances BCG (also used against TB) and C. parvum. It was not until a few years ago that attention centred on the propionic bacteria (which are part of the human skin flora) which proved to be an excellent stimulant for immunological mechanisms.

Even though Professor Pulverer still considers the scalpel the number one weapon in the fight against cancer, he and his Polish colleague, Professor Janusz Jeljaszewicz, are convinced of the effectiveness of the new serum.

"We have thus provided the surgeon with an additional instrument in cases where, having removed a tumour, he has to ask himself: 'Have I really removed all the cancer cells?'"

Elke Pfaff

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 26 May 1982)



■ SPORT

End of an era: the Kaiser hangs up his boots

Franz Beckenbauer has retired from soccer at the age of 36. "Kaiser Franz" ended his career with Hamburg SV, German Bundesliga winners this season, after a long career during which he captained Bayern Munich and Germany and later went to New York Cosmos. Jürgen Werner, a former soccer international and Hamburg player, looks back over the career of a man whose name and style of play stood for an entire era of German football.

"He boxed my ears," says Franz Beckenbauer as though it had been yesterday. This fateful moment in the soccer career of "Kaiser Franz" in fact occurred in 1958, when he was 13.

It was in a schoolboy final against Munich 1860, and Franz had just scored for his side, SC Munich 1906. His opposite number was so annoyed that he boxed Franz's ears behind the referee's back.

Anyone who wanted to get anywhere in Munich soccer in those days had to choose between 1860 and Bayern Munich, and Beckenbauer had long favoured 1860, who were based in Giesing, the same suburb as his own club.

But after being boxed on the ears he changed his mind. After the match, he recalls, he said to his team-mates that he was going to join Bayern instead. His team-mates were to sign for Bayern too. So this day nearly a quarter of a century ago was a historic one for Munich soccer.

It was the day on which Bayern, and with it Franz Beckenbauer, began its irresistible journey to the top in association football.

Six years later Beckenbauer was capped for his country as a youth international and scored three goals against Switzerland and Sweden in the course of the Uefa tournament.

Dettmar Cramer was the squad's coach at the time, and he strongly impressed and influenced the young Beckenbauer:

"He was possessed by football and expressed everything in such impressive and imaginative terms that you felt football was life."

There is not the trace of a smile on Beckenbauer's face as he says this, and he listens attentively as I quote from memory Dettmar Cramer in 1953, also in connection with a Uefa youth international tournament.

"You have to pounce on your opponents like eagles and not let them out of your claws," Cramer said. I was equally impressed at the time. "Oh yes," says Beckenbauer, "that's him all right. He used to talk to us like that as manager of Bayern Munich."

Beckenbauer's father worked for the Post Office. he didn't earn much and he had a large family. He was prejudiced against socer players. He though they were too dumb to save money during their playing days.

A 10-year career in soccer was no grounding for life, his father felt, so after leaving school Franz served an apprenticeship with an insurance company.

> "He was possessed by football and expressed everything in such impressive and imaginative terms that you felt football was life." — Dettmar Cramer

His starting salary was DM90 a month, rising slightly over the years. When he signed for Bayern in 1964 for DM180 a month at 18, his father refused to sign the contract until Franz promised not to give up his job.

The next year Bayern gained promotion to the Bundesliga. From then on there was no further debate; soccer was Beckenbauer's career.

He was first capped for Germany on September 1965 against Sweden in Stockholm. Germany won 2-1 and Beckenbauer, 20, was one of the best players in the team.

His performance earned him a place in the 1966 World Cup squad. Germany lost to England in the final at Wembley but Beckenbauer, still only 20, was now a soccer star of world renown.

On returning from one of his many world tours the late Adolf Metzner, sports writer for *Die Zeit*, talked about soccer in Brazil and Thailand.

When he had tried to say a few words about German soccer, football fans in both countries had chanted: „Beckenbauer, Beckenbauer, Beckenbauer!"

It was their only word of German, and it stood for football. The way in which Franz handled the ball even then heralded a new style of soccer: dynamic, elegant, fresh and unspent.

It was the beginning of the end of an era in German soccer, an era associated with the name of SV Hamburg's Uwe Seeler. But it was more than a change of name.

As in 1965, when Sepp Herberger retired as manager of the German team whose mould he had helped to cast over the years, the change from Seeler to Beckenbauer, both captains of the German team for many years, marked a change in approach to the game.

The hallmark of Seeler's style of play was best described in terms used by war correspondents. He was dubbed the Bomber, the Tank, the Goal Hunter.

His shots at goal were grenades, his headers were torpedoes, he always spearheaded the forward division.

Beckenbauer, the new idol, was like an aesthete of the game. Working from the back division, he began to mastermind proceedings both with Bayern and with the national team.

He and goal-scoring ace Gerd Müller, also of Bayern, were an ideal and successful duo. The goals they so often jointly laid the groundwork for were more the result of sly and fast footwork.

They went in more for guerrilla-style raids than the blunter attacks launched by Uwe Seeler.

Franz and football wre synonymous. He enjoyed his popularity and asked for (and got) good money for the value he gave.

He earned roughly DM15m in a soccer career that took him from Munich to New York, then back to Hamburg. All his clubs paid him well.

He reckons he was worth it, although he does not for a moment begrudge others their opinion. In conversation he always gets down to specific details; he always stays in touch with reality.

He refers to his role as team captain and his part in the game as responsibility, but he converts this abstract concept into 40-metre passes, free kicks, double passes and giving his team cover.

Beckenbauer at his best is the libero, or sweeper, a position on the field he helped to create, one tailor-made for him He had to be independent and able to make his own decisions when he felt the time was right.

This is not to say that Beckenbauer felt he owed no-one else responsibility: he merely felt obliged time and again to convert the obligation to reach a decision into the freedom to improvise.



The Kaiser at work (Photo: Sven Simon)

Seldom did he fight it out man-to-man with an opposing player, but not because he was afraid to do so. It was because he preferred to retain his freedom of decision for as long as possible.

He was often accused of arrogance in his style of play; he says it was concentration on important moves in the match:

"By looking away from the ball and at my team-mates and the field I find the time to put my ideas into practice."

He strongly objects to the cliche of Franz Beckenbauer the conductor of a soccer orchestra:

"As if I could lead grown men by the nose! All I can do is help by shouting advice. Above all, my own performance must be up to standard, otherwise nothing goes."

The team managers who have been associated with Beckenbauer in the course of his career have had views of their own on the subject.

Chick Cajkovski put it in a nutshell: "If I have Beckenbauer I have tactics." Dettmar Cramer, a man Franz sees as "an analyst and theoretician with an understanding of football," let Beckenbauer do his share of the thinking: "Franz takes the decisions on the pitch as soon as he has a clear idea of how the other side is operating."

These are but two of many quotes that lend support to Beckenbauer's claim that one man thinks during the game while the others do the running.

At times he was prepared to take on a job so as not to jeopardise the coach's authority, but this only seems to show up the limitations of Beckenbauer the individualist.

At Wembley in 1966, where England beat Germany 4-2, he agreed to play opposite Bobby Charlton. In the 1974 World Cup tournament in Germany he adopted an altogether different approach.

As an artist with the ball he was given to avoiding direct contact with the other side, but in the crucial World Cup games we saw a new Beckenbauer, a fighter, no longer the outstanding soloist but the conductor and man who led his side.

His arm movements on the field of play symbolised a new understanding of his role. Suddenly he was the general in the soccer arena, showing his team-mates the way to victory.

In 1977 he signed for Cosmos and moved to New York, having achieved everything he could possibly achieve in Europe, a total of 18 national and international titles.

They included World Cup and European championship wins with the national team, three European Cups, one European Cup-Winners' Cup and one World Cup with Bayern.

He led Bayern to four league championships, four Cup wins, and with Cosmos he won three US championship medals.

"My years in America made more of a mark on me than any others," he says. "*They were not just a challenge but also* a test," family and financial considerations having decided him to take it up.

When I met him over a period of days with the national squad in 1976 he was reserved, detached, almost unsure of himself. On his return from America in 1980 he was a new man, with his feet firmly on the ground both on the field of play for Hamburg and in everyday life.

He has prepared soundly for his retirement, having signed long-term contracts as a sportswear representative and a newspaper commentator. BP also plan to continue using his name.

Beckenbauer today is a star who takes his personality cult nonchalantly, enjoys it at times but does not overrate it. "The self-restraint and refinement of Hamburg appeal to me," he says, indicating the qualities to which he aspires.

In cultivating the Hanseatic understatement he has made the star cult in soccer tolerable and concentrated attention on the game as what matters.

He has also been accepted by the fans and with him the qualities by which they have come to judge greatness: Beckenbauer's commitment to the game and what it counts for and his personal modesty and determination not to seem to be more than he is.

He played his last game to a 60,000 crowd at Hamburg's Volksparkstadion, where he first played for Bayern's first team against St Pauli in 1964.

It was televised and the net receipts went to a charity foundation namedafter him.

He played nearly 600 club games and a record 103 times for Germany. He was several times Player of the Year in Germany, Europe and America.

Jürgen Werner

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